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CANADA *and the* UNEMPLOYED PROBLEM

Some Suggestions for its Solution by A. T. Hope

THE international problem of unemployment is acute. It is not being solved. For the sake of the unemployed men and their wives and children; for the sake of the workers still employed, whose position is jeopardized by the competition of men driven to desperation by hunger to the point where they are compelled to sell their labor-power, and drag down the level of wages; for the sake of civilized society, whose very foundations are threatened by the physical deterioration and the mental and moral degradation caused by dire poverty—it is of the utmost importance that measures be taken to solve it without delay.—*Vancouver World*, February 27th, 1909.

1909

LONDON:
SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT & CO., LTD.

SIXPENCE

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by A. T. Hope

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10/12/09

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LONDON:

PRINTED BY
RIDDLE, TAYLOR AND SMITH,
FOREST HILL, S.E.

Introduction.

THE solution of the Unemployed Problem should appeal to all classes. That the suggestions here offered would solve it, must be obvious to those not blinded by class prejudice, but that this or any other rational solution will be opposed by those who think that their personal interests and privileges will suffer is certain.

There is a suggestion that a Labour Minister be appointed and if such an addition to the Cabinet should be made, National Emigration might well be entrusted to his Department of the Government.

The advantages of the scheme herein set forth are that it is not only self-supporting, but that it will ultimately create a permanent fund which will at all times be available to take off the market any surplus labour, and when not needed for that purpose, it could be used to assist those with small means who, finding the conditions against them in their own country, wish to emigrate before being reduced to absolute poverty.

If £100,000,000 can be obtained on loan for the Irish Land question, surely a Government Loan of £10,000,000 may be raised as a first instalment to solve the Unemployed Problem, which would benefit the nation at large. This should place at least 30,000 families, averaging say five each, in comfortable homes, thus taking off the rates 150,000 persons and placing the heads of the families in a position to repay the cost, interest and a profit within five years, whilst after the first year part of the principal would be available to place others in a position to do the same.

Under the headings of "Canada" and "Emigration" will be will be found information that will be useful to intending settlers and which may save them much disappointment and loss.

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CANADA AND THE UNEMPLOYED PROBLEM

National Emigration.

BEFORE trying to solve the problem of the unemployed, let us agree that every able-bodied man is entitled to work, that any Government of this or any other country worthy of the name should place the well-being of the entire community as its first and chief aim, and this independently of party politics. That all nations will have rich and poor is practically certain, but that there should be abject poverty and starvation is a disgrace to civilization and a menace to the peace of nations permitting such conditions to exist.

The remedy I suggest is a self-supporting plan of National Emigration. We have Colonies crying out for settlers and offering free grants of land, or land to sell at nominal prices. In many parts of Canada where I am writing this, 160 acres can be obtained free on condition that certain duties are performed, but it means dreadful toil and many hardships to make it pay, unless the settler has a large capital of, say from £1,000 to £2,000. With this I will deal more fully when pointing out the difficulties intending emigrants are likely to meet with, which are not mentioned in the literature issued by the Agent General and in the Railway and Steamboat Company's prospectuses.

Towards the end of last year (1908), I read that the unemployed were more numerous than ever, and as I had not carried out my intention of submitting a scheme to another company, shewn to the C. P. R. Co. and rejected by them, I adapted it so that it will in time, if honestly brought into effect, take all the surplus labour off the market, and I wrote the following to the President of the Local Government Board :—

THE RIGHT HON. JOHN BURNS. *Nov. 27, 1908.*

DEAR SIR,—I enclose what I believe would be a radical remedy for the unemployed question. It is a mere outline of the subject, as if the main principle is not what the Government would entertain, further details are unnecessary. What I claim is that such a plan

would not only be self-supporting and the means of creating a permanent fund for the future, but that it would help the general trade of the Country and ultimately do away with workhouses with their casual wards, and that, with a much reduced poor rate, the indigent sick and aged could be provided for in comfortable homes without the stigma of being paupers. The larger the sum raised the sooner the trouble would be ended and the sooner repaid, and a permanent fund founded that would increase the more it was used. I have not touched upon the unemployable question, but believe that would gradually right itself. When it was known that to be a tramp meant that a man would not work, he would get neither sympathy nor relief. Whilst I personally have no interest in recommending Canada instead of any other Colony, I think for Imperial reasons it would be wise to commence here. . . . . The offer of 160 acre homesteads free, seems tempting, but when I came here 3½ years ago such homesteads could only be obtained at a long distance from transporting facilities and for novices to develop the land with only £100 capital, means years of hardship and drudgery. Such large tracts of land in the hands of one man or one family do not tend to social life, and can only be properly worked if the settler has a large capital, while the isolation often causes insanity.

Pioneering work is only for the few and certainly not for the unemployed, who need bracing up and a cheerful view of the future to counteract the ill effects of insufficient food and squalid homes. Under this scheme, by the time the Government had been recouped the outlay, they should be a self-reliant and prosperous community.

To any reasonable objections or difficulties raised I am certain that I can give satisfactory replies to the first, and how to surmount the second. That there will be unexpected conditions arising there is no doubt, and equally no doubt these will be satisfactorily met.

Every effort should be made to prevent any possibility of favouritism or the taking of secret commissions in any form. My opinion is that it would cost from £250 to £300 for each family for the first year, this should cover transportation, cost of land and farm-house, etc., and provide food for six to twelve months, or until the products of the farms were turned into money, and in five years or less all would be repaid, and if dealt with thoroughly it is sure of success, whilst in a half-hearted manner it is doomed to failure.

The problem of how to relieve the able-bodied unemployed without pauperising them and to permanently remove them from that class without any ultimate cost to the nation is what the following suggestions are intended to solve

That the British Government provide or raise by loan a sum to carry out this scheme and approach the Dominion Government of Canada or any other British Colony, with the view of obtaining land either by grant or purchase, the land thus obtained to be divided into townships, these again to be subdivided into a Townsite and farms of about ten acres. Clear the land and having obtained the latest and most effective steam-plough, plough the land, then erect frame-houses on the farms and fence them in. As the land selected would be probably partly timber land, on this portion start logging camps and erect a saw mill to obtain the lumber to build the frame-houses, such frame-houses to be practically made at the saw mill and only needing to be put together when brought on to the land. As far as possible the work to be done by the single men of the unemployed. Upon the farms when ready (early in the spring if possible), place married couples with families and supply them with the necessities of a home.

Charge each at a fair profit on cost for transportation, farm, house, etc., including proportion of cost of Townsite, recreation grounds and buildings that may be erected for the common use, such as public baths, etc. Upon the Townsite erect a store, this and practically the community to be under Government control until such time as all amounts due to the Government or Emigration Fund are paid. That until such time, all transactions shall be by coupon or similar system, such coupons to be negotiable in the Township for which they are issued only. The manager and chief clerk in the store, the doctor, farm overseer and any other persons necessary to look after the Government interest to be civil servants, but their salaries to be charged to the community. Accounts to be opened with householders and a book similar to a bank book given them in which their indebtedness is noted, and in which all credits are entered. The coupons would represent face value for purchases from each other and within certain limits would buy necessaries from the store. All produce sent out of the Township to be delivered to the store and credited to the owner and if the value is known placed to his credit, the stores receiving payment from the buyer. At the end of each year a balance sheet to be made, a portion of the profit going to the Government Fund and the balance credited as a bonus to the householders *pro rata* to the amount of purchases. That no intoxicating liquor be sold and only supplied by the doctor in case of illness and then in as unpleasant a form as possible. As far as practicable let each community be adherents or in sympathy with one Christian denomination and if there are sufficient, make up a community of non-Christians,

To the above communication I have only had a non-committal acknowledgment, so I now propose to explain more fully how I think this scheme of "National Emigration" should be carried out. The first consideration is ways and means. I would suggest that a Government 3% Loan of £10,000,000 should be raised, and of this £1,000,000 should be set aside for erecting lumber mills and other more or less permanent work needed for general use. The other £9,000,000 being available to send out families, in the first instance, of not less than four persons, consisting of husband, wife and two or more children, the age of the eldest not to exceed 10 years. The next step would be to secure a large tract of agricultural and fruit land with some timber land adjoining, sufficient to ultimately accommodate all the present unemployed and with a surplus to spare.

The usual extent of a Township is six square miles, giving 36 sections of one mile square, a quarter section (160 acres) being what is offered to settlers single or married, part of the Township being reserved for school purposes, etc. Supposing the six miles should be homesteaded by single men, the population would be 144. If, however, the same area is divided into 10-acre farms, each with a family averaging five, the population of the Township would be 11,520 As this number appears too large, I would suggest that the Townships should be a quarter of that size, viz., three miles square, making nine square miles, the centre mile to be the Townsite, this would give 512 farms with a population of 2,560. The allotment of the farms should be by ballot and whether those nearest to the Townsite should be charged extra would be a matter for consideration.

To obtain the best value for the products of the farms, creameries should be established on some, on others Flour Mills, Jam Factories, Canneries, etc. The fairest way would be for every eight Townships to have a different factory, getting the raw products from each other at the market price and supplying the manufactured article at the same, any surplus being sold to outside markets, the profits of all the factories to be pooled and divided equally, as to half, the other half going to the Emigration Fund, reverting entirely to the Townships when all the moneys due to the Fund has been paid. The simplest way to deal with the Townsite and any communal property upon it would be to form it into a limited company, each farm having one share. The land to be let on lease, and on no account to be sold, and any dealings with it of any kind to be submitted to the shareholders and only adopted if three-quarters of the shareholders voted for it. A committee of about six should be elected who should have access to all store and other accounts and to look after the general interests, four of whom should retire each year, and who should not be eligible for re-election. To them the farm overseer should report if any occupant neglected his farm, and if after due caution it was still neglected, the overseer should be empowered to employ others to do what was necessary so that the general interests would not suffer, and the cost should be charged to the owner of the farm. In case of illness either the near neighbours should voluntarily assist in the work of the farm, or a Mutual Aid Fund could be established to pay for the work needed. In case of the death of the husband, the Mutual Aid Fund might be arranged so that it would provide labour to help the wife to carry on the farm.

On the timber land, a lumber mill should be erected and logging camps started. Where skilled labour was wanted, Canadians would have to be engaged, but wherever possible, the single unemployed should be given the work. These to have their passage paid on the understanding that they repay the amount with interest, out of their earnings. At the logging camps the trees would be felled and cut into logs of suitable lengths for the saw mill, a light railway from the camps to the mill and from the mill to the farms would be advisable. At the saw mill the logs would be sawn into suitable sizes and sent to the planer floor to be prepared for other departments, such as sash and door, table and chair factories, and for the various kinds of lumber needed for the frame houses and other purposes on the farms. As it would take some time to get the lumber mill built and in working order, it might be desirable to send two thousand families in the first season, and for the houses for these to give out a contract to some of the manufacturers who supply these ready made, or to buy the lumber and build in whichever way proved to be the better and cheaper. As soon as possible after obtaining the land, the portion to be settled upon first, should be prepared for ploughing and should be ploughed.

Two months before the time fixed for leaving England, notices should be placed in the post offices, and at the relieving offices, with application forms and envelopes addressed to the mayors of the county towns. The notices should state fully the conditions upon

which those who apply will be sent out, what they will get and what is expected of them, and they should not be misled on any point. Give to each county or district throughout the British Isles, a proportion of the farms available, either according to population or according to the number of its unemployed, whichever is estimated to be the more equitable. As the applications are received, let them be numbered and when the time limit has expired proceed to ballot for the farms. Only those applications bearing the successful numbers to be opened ; these should then be inquired into to find out if the applicants are eligible. This being satisfactory, instructions should be given to prepare for emigration, and time and place of departure stated. The only cost to the Emigration Fund in connection with the selection should be the printing of the notices, and the initial cost of the system of balloting. The applications should be sent post free, and the local authorities should see to all the other arrangements without charge. Agreements signed by both husband and wife setting forth the conditions under which the farms are allotted should be obtained, these to be endorsed by some one in authority. Government transports and cruisers could be fitted up to take the emigrants and their effects. There should be an Emigration Building at the port of departure, where the emigrants would remain for a day or two, whilst all their belongings were thoroughly disinfected and cleaned.

On the voyage balloting for positions on the farms should take place, and if any wanted to change so as to be near friends, it should be arranged if mutually agreeable.

For a family of four, a four-roomed house should be awaiting it, with all the necessaries of a home. If possible the arrival should be in the early spring so that the farm's overseer could give instructions as to planting and sowing, and advice as to the best and most profitable products to sow or plant. If too late then the first crops should be put in and the cost charged to each. For the first year at least and until experience had been gained, cows for the supply of milk and butter, chickens and all live stock should be kept on the Townsite under the care of the farm overseer and the manager of the store, where practical lessons would be given to all willing to learn. No money should be in circulation until the Emigration Fund claims were satisfied, and probably a system of debtor and credit accounts would be preferable to complicating that system by the issue of coupons.

The foregoing should be sufficient to indicate generally how the Unemployed Problem could be solved and the only effective one of taking the unemployed off the labour market, and placing them in a position to be self-supporting. Money, being available, honesty of purpose, combined with business ability, are all that are needed to ensure success. On the land and houses the Emigration Fund should make at least 20% profit and the occupiers should benefit to a like amount, compared with what it would cost them under ordinary conditions. From what I know of homesteading in Canada, I would rather have a 10-acre farm under the conditions here set forth, than have £500 given me absolutely to come over to Canada as a novice to hunt up a homestead and develop it, and I am satisfied that at the

end of five years I should be able to look back upon a happier experience and be financially better off.

The advantages are so many and obvious that they scarcely need mentioning, and I cannot think of any drawbacks. That there are formidable obstacles which will probably prevent any such common-sense plan being adopted I admit, and some of these I purpose dealing with.

That 10 acres should be sufficient if suitable land is chosen, the following extract will show :—

> Servia has been aptly described as the peasant state of Europe. The serf is a man of primitive emotions and simple tastes, for whom town life seems to have little or no attraction. A system of peasant proprietorship prevails and to this and to the frugality and industry of the people must be ascribed the fact that Servia has practically no poor. Every grown man can claim five acres of land from the Government, and this land and its produce are exempt from all claims for debt, so that the poorest man in Servia has always five acres to his credit.

Party Government.

" Mack," whose " Front Page " is a feature of the *Toronto Saturday Night* says in the issue of Nov. 21st :—

> What has gone wrong with the people of England ? Why do the women carry on so ? Why have so many of the mothers and daughters of England abandoned the traditions of womanhood ? Why is there so much violence of speech on the part of English members of Parliament, and why are the Irish members so strangely quiet ?
>
> It must be confessed that the children of Britain, beyond seas feel some uneasiness on account of the queer tales that reach us about the old folks at home. There are high jinks in the ancestral halls. Even the august Mother of Parliaments has emitted the noises of Bedlam, thousands of women storming its doors seeking the franchise by means of a rowdyism that was almost masculine, and nearly as convincing a proof of voting intelligence as the riots that preceded the Reform Bill.
>
> When Lord Northcliffe was in Toronto a few weeks ago, he told us not to exaggerate the importance of alarmist despatches from the Mother Country—she would handle her difficulties. But the despatches to the Canadian newspapers tell us very little of the whole. Those who read the English papers find in them much that is disturbing. The Suffragettes seem to possess numbers and a disregard for appearances and consequences, that is incomprehensible to us at this distance.
>
> Men, too, are talking and acting madly.

He then refers to the " intemperate " and " threatening " speeches of Messrs. Victor Grayson, M.P., Will Thorne, M.P., and Keir Hardie, M.P., and continues :

> These men may not be important persons in a great nation, but when even unimportant men openly talk violence, there is denoted a state of public mind that may be considered serious. These open,

or slightly veiled incitements to violence may fairly be deemed serious even after due allowance is made for the fact that mob oratory is allowed a freedom in England not permitted in any other country.

Then follow statistics of pauperism in London and Glasgow, "anodynes to produce temporary relief" proposed by the Government and proceeds :—

It is curious to turn from the scene on Tower Hill, where a member of Parliament is inciting the masses to revolution, or from the Bow Street Police Court, where another member of Parliament is undergoing discipline for a similar offence, to other scenes in the same England. The illustrated weeklies continue to publish full-page pictures of Lord Harrington's Hounds, which take the field six days a week, or the Rufford Hounds, which are abroad three days a week, or of famous race meets or field sports attended by enormous throngs. These journals are also adorned with many fine half-tone plates, showing the noble architecture of famous country seats, and views of gorgeous interiors. One might suppose that the news of distress, the mutterings of revolution, come from quite another world than that from which also come the pictures of noble palaces with gorgeous interiors, of hounds and horsemen blithely coursing, smiling counties in mad pursuit of the valueless tails of scared foxes.

One would scarcely suppose, either, that it was the Premier of one and the same country who had made the speech in which he enumerated the "anodynes" which were being applied to produce temporary relief, and that other speech a day or two later in which he declared that he "fully adhered to the policy of keeping the navy ten per cent. greater than the combined navies of any two other powers."

They are a great people, these Britons, but it is small wonder that the continental races privately think them mad. Undismayed by any problem, however great, they race, hunt, drink, play games, and launch a new vessel of war every morning—except Sundays, when piety forbids.

Some of us think it curious, too, to find that it is Winston Churchill who in this hour strikes the most serious note of all those who address the nation. In such space as I can give it here justice cannot be done to the policy he sketched to his constituents at Dundee recently, but, in part, he said that there was "a plain need for some averaging machinery to regulate and even up the general course of the labor market, in the same way as the Bank of England, by its bank rate, regulates and corrects the flow of business enterprise." One may turn impatiently from this suggestion as an impossible one, but hear what he has to say : "There ought to be in permanent existence certain recognized industries of a useful, but uncompetitive character, like, we will say, afforestation, managed by public departments, and capable of being expanded or contracted, according to the needs of the labor market, just as easily as you can pull out the stops or work the pedals of an organ." He thinks this would not do everything desired, but it would do much. He went on to say that casual labor should be diminished—those men who are held on the fringe of all the trades, half-employed, given work when trade booms, thrown out when it slackens. Next, he challenged the foolish practice of treating boys and girls as cheap labor, the result being that they are tradeless on reaching maturity. The nation must see to it that while they are earning a living they are also learning trades, and not growing up to recruit the ranks of the unemployable. He outlines these ideas as coming under the department of government of which he is in charge.

It must not be forgotten that Mr. Churchill is something of an orator. He concluded his speech in these words :

" ' Few,' it is written, ' and evil are the days of man.' Soon, very soon, our brief lives will be lived. Soon, very soon, we and our affairs will have passed away. Uncounted generations will trample heedlessly upon our tombs. What is the use of living if it be not to strive for noble causes and to make this muddled world a better place for those who will live in it after we are gone ? How else can we put ourselves in harmonious relation with the great verities and consolations of the infinite and the eternal ? And I avow my faith that we are marching towards better days. Humanity will not be cast down. We are going on—swinging bravely forward along the grand high road—and already behind the distant mountains is the promise of the sun."

These are noble sentiments but President Roosevelt has said : " Words are good when backed by deeds, not otherwise," it is therefore up to the Right. Hon. gentleman to " make good."

With such well-known sympathisers of the working classes as the Right Hons. John Burns, Winston Churchill and Lloyd George in the Cabinet some remedy should be possible.

On Jan. 23rd " Mack " again returns to the subject :

A few weeks ago a paragraph appeared on this page asking what was the matter with the people of England, and quoting the revolutionary language used by open-air speakers among the unemployed in London. Since then we have had some of the same talk in Toronto —talk so like the other that the conclusion is irresistible that the local orators have fashioned their style on that of their brethren at home. When a laboring man is out of work and hungry we have no right to complain if his temper ceases to be angelic. He may not be a wise man even when well-fed, and sure of regular wages, and ill-fortune does not improve him. But while a man without food and with no great stock of intelligence may mount a box or a barrel and say foolish and extravagant things, and be forgiven on account of the circumstances that oppress him, there must be many who will not see how the public press can be justified in taking down this excited man's foolish threats and circulating them all over creation, as if they were hugely important utterances—ranking in public importance with the latest and choicest murder. We shall have much violent talk on the vacant lots if the speakers are ensured all the space in the newspapers that they can fill with red and blue language. These men are being encouraged in a line of foolishness not adapted to the country they are in. This is a country of workers. The man who owns the big warehouse that the furious orator advises his hearers to loot, was once as penniless as the orator himself,and no doubt among his hearers are men who will own big buildings of their own some day if they can but pull through present difficulties and keep pegging away. Very little of the wealth strangers see about them in this city was inherited—most of it has been pulled together within twenty-five years. Conditions may not be what an idealist, or a socialist, would like, but they are far different from the conditions against which soap-box oratory inflames itself in Europe. Nor is public opinion here so tolerant of super-heated language.

Every possible effort should be made to find work for those who are unable to find it for themselves. But there should be some method in the business. The men who in the winter clamour for work and

have it provided for them by the municipality in unusual ways, should have their names and addresses taken down, and, before they can next winter set up a claim against the municipality, they should be called upon to show where they have been and what they have been doing in the nine months of the year when they were not parading among the unemployed. Were they working? If so, were they exercising any of that thrift which in this country even the squirrels and chipmunks display?

Forty men were taken to the House of Industry on Saturday last and given their dinner, but when, according to the rules of the place, they were asked to do work to the value of the aid they had received, they refused to do so. Mayor Oliver was quite indignant when informed of this and said that if the unemployed were going to act in that way, they might as well keep away from the City Hall. On inquiry being made at the House of Industry, not only was the foregoing story confirmed, but it was stated that since Saturday forty-five men had secured food and lodgings at that place without in any way repaying the institution for its hospitality. Instead of doing the work expected of them, they swarmed over the back fence and departed. It will be remembered that last year when the unemployed were noisiest, the City engaged twenty of them to report one morning for work at a gravel pit, where by special effort work had been prepared for them. Only one-third of the twenty put in an appearance, and the others bothered the City Hall no more. It is curious, in a country like this where people are brought up to abhor the idea of accepting charity in any form, to hear of forty-five men accepting charity and not paying for it. We seem to have had an influx of people who have no prejudice whatever against the acceptance of charity, but are rather partial to it as the easiest way of getting a living. They seem to claim it as their right. With such people among us, and flocking to Toronto as their winter headquarters, it seems necessary that there should be opened a bureau of record at the City Hall for permanent reference as to the character and usefulness of these men. That men who will not work have a claim to be supported at the expense of men who do work, cannot be conceded for a moment in this country.

It will thus be seen that Canada has an Unemployed Problem which is not likely to be solved by the Salvation Army sending over ten thousand men per year. That these men were not Canadian born is almost certain. All the Canadians I have met are both able and willing to do almost any kind of work. Whilst an Englishman if he has learnt a trade usually can do nothing else, some who come over soon adapt themselves to the prevailing conditions whilst others cannot or will not.

The chief obstacle to solving the Unemployed Problem is the apathy of the public. All men and women should take an intelligent interest in and make themselves acquainted with the political issues of their country and the local needs. A large number of voters at both Parliamentary and Municipal Elections flock to party standards without acquainting themselves with either the merits of the candidates or how their vote will serve the best interests of the country or the district in which they live. The comparative few who do take an active and more or less intelligent interest have in many cases some hobby which overshadows all other considerations and thus the general interests of the country suffer. This apathy is to

some extent fostered by another obstacle which is party Government. With all its faults which are many, the British Government stands first among the Governments of the world. The King both before and since his accession to the throne has shown a discretion and tact that have done more for the peace of Europe than all the diplomats and peace societies put together If the people of Great Britain would give the King a free hand to negotiate a treaty of peace for fifty years with all the great powers I would undertake to say that single handed he would accomplish it.

Party Government should be abolished, if the Premier and the Right Hon. A. J. Balfour are the two best men in the House of Commons, they should both be in the Cabinet. Government by the people for the people should be established, peer to peasant should have rights respected and wrongs redressed.

The present system of Government is entirely in the interests of the moneyed class. Both Liberals and Conservatives have their headquarters close to the Houses of Parliament, and there the strings are worked, and candidates if not actually chosen, have to be approved, and from these offices most of the campaign literature is issued. Both parties receive contributions from their adherents, and most of the Peerages, Baronetcies and Knighthoods are granted for these and other party services, thus money and not merit is the passport into the ranks of the nobility. Under the present system a member of Parliament is not free to vote according to the dictates of his conscience, if he is a loyal party man. However much he may think the interests of the country and of the party clash, the former must suffer, or the opposite course may, if his party is in power land the country, his party and himself into the expense of a General Election.

The voters would be better served and have less rates and taxes to pay if they insisted that all the expenses of a Parliamentary election should be paid by the Government and that all the members should be paid for their services. That the constituencies should each return one member and be so divided that each member should represent as nearly as possible the same number of voters. Voting papers should be sent out and returned through the Post Office, and so arranged that the actual voting was sealed up, whilst the portion for checking off the voter's list could be detached. Voters not exercising the privilege to be fined £2. Candidates to be chosen by the entire constituency, and as some chosen might not be able or or willing to accept the honour, let two other names be cited so as to save sending out fresh nomination papers. Should one person receive the support of two-thirds of the voters, he would be elected without any further voting, should no person obtain two-thirds of the votes, then three or four receiving the largest number to be the candidates if willing, and to be allowed to issue an address to the electors at the Government expense, all these to be sent in one envelope and to be the only means of soliciting votes allowed either by them or any of their friends. On the voting papers in addition to the names of the candidates, have the word "Neutral," so that those not wishing to vote for any of the candidates may thus signify their objection to all. By this means men known to have broad views and wide

sympathies, who hold aloof from the methods now employed might be induced to accept an honour which could not be purchased. The Premier should be elected by the Members and approved by the King, and the Cabinet chosen by the Premier submitted to the House for approval as well as to the King. Members should not be allowed to nurse a constituency by subscribing to charitable institutions, cricket clubs, or by any of the ways now adopted or that may be invented, and to do so should be considered bribery and corruption, and unseat the guilty member. Parliament should be only dissolved at the end of five years unless it was found impossible to form a working Cabinet. If measures passed by the Commons were rejected by the Lords there should be a final appeal to the people by referendum at the end of each session.

The evils of Party Government were strikingly illustrated at the election of members to the Dominion Parliament which took place in October last. Each Province in Canada has its own Parliament, and representatives from each Province are also sent to the Dominion Parliament which sits at Ottawa. The *Toronto Globe* in December asked several prominent men the following question :—" What enactment to remain in force after you abdicated would you promulgate for the benefit of Canada if you were Czar of the country for twenty-four hours ? " Professor Goldwin Smith's reply was :—

> I think what I should most like to see enacted, if it were possible, would be that members of Parliament should obey their own consciences and the call of public duty, not the command of the caucus or the boss. An honest member of Parliament, acting as he thinks right, is deprived of his seat by the two local bosses combined, and the head of the Government approves their act. While this lasts, " graft " is likely to last with it.

The chief issue in British Columbia was the " Yellow Peril," the Conservatives professing to be in favour of stopping the immigration of Chinese, Japanese and Hindus. Sir Wilfrid Laurier could not make any promises knowing that treaty obligations with the Imperial Parliament prevented any such steps being taken. The *Manitoba Free Press* says :—

> In the election campaign, the *Victoria Colonist* published in fac-simile this telegram : " The conservative party stands for a white Canada, protection to white workmen and exclusion of all Asiatics.—R. L. Borden." Mr. Borden, in the House of Commons last Friday denied that he had sent this telegram. He declared that the telegram which he sent was worded as follows : " Your message received. Conservative stands for a white Canada, and absolute protection of white labor.—R. L. Borden." Accepting Mr. Borden's statement of the matter, the fact remains that Mr. Templeman's defeat was thus compassed by false pretences, and that same message, purporting to be from the Conservative leader, was made wide use of as effective conservative ammunition in the coast province.
>
> Whatever the truth of the matter may be, the fact has already gone into Canadian political history that the main ammunition of the conservative campaign in British Columbia in the Dominion general elections of 1908 was a statement in the form of a telegram from the Conservative leader, published in fac-simile in the leading Conserva-

tive paper on the coast, declaring that " the Conservative party stands for the exclusion of all Asiatics "—a declaration which the leader of the Conservative party, standing in his place in Parliament denies having made then, and does not dare to make now.

British Columbia has seven seats in the Dominion Parliament and returned all Liberals to the last Parliament, but at this election five Conservatives and two Liberals were returned. Mr. Duncan Ross, the late Liberal member, thus refers to his defeat :—

> During the last four years not one single dollar would have been voted for public buildings in the district of Yale-Cariboo, not one single dollar for any new extensions to the telegraph or telephone systems, not one single dollar for any new works in the improvement of our water-ways, had I not furnished the ministers with sound and sufficient arguments to justify such expenditures. The routine expenditure would probably proceed but it requires a strong and friendly advocate to induce any government to undertake any new expenditure.
>
> The people of Yale-Cariboo have deliberately chosen an enemy of the government to represent them for five years, and the government is thereby relieved of the importunities of one of their friends trying to do his best in the interests of his district—a convenient relief for the government but a mighty bad thing for the district.

It is only just to Mr. Burrell, the new Conservative Member to say that from his place in Parliament he repudiated the idea that he was there to represent merely his own following but the entire constituency.

" Mack " says on his " Front Page," Dec. 12th :—

> The people of Canada whether Conservatives or Liberals and no matter in what part of the Dominion they live, should ask themselves what they think of the series of deals that have been put through, in the way of squelching election protests, between the political party led by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the political party led by Mr. R. L. Borden.
>
> Is there such a thing in Canada as a public opinion which any politician need consider ?
>
> Is there a public conscience capable of taking offence at anything however immoral it may be ?
>
> On Saturday last at one o'clock, the time expired in which protests could be entered in connection with the recent Dominion elections, and in a manner barefaced and almost wide open to the full light of day, the managers of the rival political parties throughout Canada met, confronted each other with such evidence of bribery, fraud, perjury and corruption as they were possessed of, and proceeded to dicker and trade, sin for sin, perjury for perjury, crime for crime, so that neither party should be exposed and both parties stand as they stood when the polls closed—no matter how criminal and corrupt may have been the means by which this man here and that man there stole his victory.
>
> The defeated candidate, whether Liberal or Conservative, no matter how honest was his campaign and no matter how corrupt that of his adversary, found himself the victim of a vast and remorseless system operated by the joint efforts of both parties. His wrongs were bargained off against the wrongs of some defeated candidate on the other side.

If the man who defeated him had conducted a campaign crimson with guilt, if the evidence in proof of this was ample and all ready, his case laid on the counter where the rival parties met to do barter, was highly valuable, not in procuring justice for him and his debauched constituency, but in buying pardon for some equally crimson sinner on his own side.

Such protests as were entered seem for the most part, to have been due to the action of determined men who refused to be treated like chattels by the bargainers. That some protests were entered does not mean that these cases were the worst ; in some instances they were of the cases least feared. Nor does it mean that they will go to trial, for the parties can do a lot of sawing-off yet. In order to put up some kind of bluff on the people of Canada a few protests had to be entered.

Let the reader look at the figures. In Ontario the Liberals protested four seats and the Conservatives four. There is room here for a couple of even trades should public opinion stand for it. In New Brunswick the Conservatives protested two seats and the Liberals two ; in Nova Scotia the Conservatives protested none and the Liberals none, in Prince Edward Island the protests are one against one, in British Columbia one against one, in Alberta three against three. In those provinces where the parties were not evenly divided, the matter of protests appears to have taken its natural course. In Saskatchewan one Liberal seat is protested. In Quebec twenty-four Liberal seats are protested, and eleven Conservatives. In Manitoba seven Liberal seats and one Conservative.

A despatch from Ottawa states that Mr. P. H. Chabot, father of the Conservative candidate, is wholly at a loss to understand why the protest against the election of Mr. H. B. McGiverin was dropped. " I cannot understand it. I wish I knew that," he declared. Everything was ready. In Toronto Mr. A. F. McLaren, the defeated Conservative candidate in North Perth, was on hand with the necessary deposit and evidence for filing a protest, but it was side-tracked in some way without his knowledge or consent. Similar stories could be told of other constituencies the country over.

The people of Canada should weigh the significance of this kind of thing. It means that all talk of purity in elections is idle. It means that a candidate for either party can cut loose and win by any means however crooked and his case will be kept out of court when the party bosses meet to trade off one scandal against another. Indeed, the more corrupt his election methods the more anxious his party will be to dispose of it in a saw-off. The people are expected to look on and maintain their respect for law and government while they see such smothering of crime in the very ante-chambers of our courts. The people are supposed to be deeply impressed with the majesty of law when they see some rural member (so inexperienced in the game as not to have had himself liberated when the exchange of prisoners was negotiated) unseated for the crime of having " stood treat " in some village tavern during his campaign, or a few electors disfranchised for seven years for being so base as to barter their votes for cash, or some vulgar rascal sent to jail for switching ballots.

But what of a system of saw-offs and deals by which corrupt election methods are placed under the joint protection of both parties ?

The suggestion is offered in *The Toronto Telegram* that Sir James Whitney should appoint a Royal Commission to enquire into the election methods of both parties in Ontario. This action would create the sensation of the present generation, so confidently did both parties proceed to do what they liked in the campaign and cancel each other's

misdeeds. But, unfortunately, Sir James Whitney is a party man himself, surrounded on all hands by party men, on terms of the closest political intimacy with some who figured in the recent business. It is not likely that the country can secure relief at any political head-quarters.

In other issues of the *Toronto Saturday Night* appear the following extracts :—

In order to show what a comic opera country Canada is becoming under the influence of the kind of politics we have been having of late I would like to call public attention to a notice displayed in the post office in the town of Fergus.

The notice calls a public meeting on the evening of Tuesday next, Dec. 1, of *the Liberal electors of Fergus to decide on and recommend a site for the new post office.* The notice is signed by the president and secretary of the Local Liberal Association.

The Liberal electors in question seem to feel pretty confident that they have got into power. They seem to feel pretty sure that the spoils belong to the victors, and that all they have to do is step up and administer their share. A town council might properly have a suggestion to offer as to the site for a new post office, or with some show of decency a meeting of citizens might be called to consider such a question—but, perhaps, never before in the history of Canada was a meeting of those who voted right called to choose a site for the post office that was promised during a campaign. I am told that five days before polling, a picture of this promised post office was prominently displayed in Fergus, with the object of influencing the voters. The same kind of thing was done in nearly every constituency in Canada. It is to be hoped that the new Fergus post office when built by the Liberal party on the site selected by the Liberal electors, will be generously thrown open to public use.

Might not some Liberal of Fergus arise at the meeting on Tuesday night and ask whether the Liberal party for a generation did not denounce the Conservatives for going about the country promising post offices, custom houses, wharves, docks and other bribes to constituencies on the eve of general elections ? We have two political parties in Canada. One sinned in this way and was denounced up hill and down dale for its brazen use of the public revenues for campaign purposes. But at that time half the people were arrayed against this form of corruption. Now this second half of the people have lost all conscience in the matter. As the Conservatives are now met with the statement : " Your party used to do the same thing," so the Liberals in time to come, when out of office, will see the constituencies bribed right and left by the promise of public works, and their mouths will be closed because they did the same thing shamelessly when in office. While we had one party in this respect clean, decency had a chance.

In the recent elections we saw one long, lean, hungry constituency after another fall into line and trot behind the chariots of those leaders who carried about with them the savoury food cooked in the treasury kitchens at Ottawa.

Men otherwise honest and patriotic, stood up and urged ridings to get next to the treasury—actually praised a Government on the ground that it was the kind of Government which would spend large sums from the public treasury in a constituency that supported it, and would not spend public money in a constituency that did not support it. This should not commend, but in the view of the people should utterly

condemn any Government. That kind of thing does not describe a system of Government at all. It exactly describes a conspiracy to hold office by purchase.

There must be a great many people in Canada who wait with some anxiety to hear Sir Wilfrid Laurier express his views on much that happened in the recent elections.

Owing to the astonishing revelations of graft among officials in the outside service of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, the Minister has issued orders that all patronage lists shall be destroyed—that is to say, the lists of party friends from whom officials have been required to purchase all supplies needed. Should anybody be surprised that moral decay attended this method of doing business ? Some journals seem to think that the order publicly issued by Mr. Brodeur wipes out the evil at one stroke. But it remains to be seen whether the order is more than a bit of stage play. Will tenders be openly called for ? Will the best goods at the lowest prices be demanded regardless of pull or influence ? If not the old game will go on. More than once a wire has been cancelled by a wink.

" It must be set down to the credit of the Liberal régime," says *The Globe*, " that this radical and far-reaching reform has been inaugurated under it, and that immediately after a general election which resulted in the return of Sir Wilfrid to power by an overwhelming majority." Perhaps the faith of many in the sincerity of the action taken will be weakened by this unctuous deliverance. There is small occasion for thus glorying in the act of Mr. Brodeur in wiring to ignore the patronage lists. What on earth could he have done, short of that, when confronted by exposures that would have shocked the moral sensibilities of a buzzard ?

One of the French-Canadian dailies says that when the investigation at Quebec, into the relations existing between supply houses and officials of the Department of Marine and Fisheries had gone a certain length, word came from Ottawa to choke it off, and it ended. The statement is further made that when the question as to whether supply houses had contributed to party funds was raised, the subject was quickly side-tracked.

The first of these two statements is of too serious a nature to be ignored by the country, by Parliament, or by Judge Cassels. Surely, there was nothing in the way of grafting that was not revealed in those proceedings. The exposures reached a quantity that might be considered enough and to spare.

Perhaps no inquiry was pushed into the matter of campaign contributions made by those witnesses who admitted the payment of money to officials of the Department, but this was not the line of inquiry the judge was commissioned to pursue. As yet we have seen no Government in Canada possessing the courage to open an inquiry that would reveal the sources of that money with which the country is bedevilled at election times. We shall not see such an inquiry now, although if by any means such an exposure of the sources of campaign funds could be brought about, it would make the people of Canada stare. Men would stare at the great aggregate amount raised. They would stare when they learned of the large amounts given from single sources. They would stare on learning the nature of some of the transactions by which contributions were made.

But there is not a ghost of a chance that any such exposure can be brought about because both political parties are involved in the same disgrace. There will be no reckoning until some day there forms on the floor of Parliament a group of independent men who will make

explicit charges right and left, demand investigation, fight to the finish and be ready to die like Samson by pulling down the roof on all alike.

In an article on "Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Victory," in *The National Review* for January, Stephen Leacock indulges in some characteristically plain speech. He says that if Sir Wilfrid is a Liberal "of the school of Gladstone, he has been a shameful truant for the past twelve years." He thinks the Liberals in Canada have enjoyed an advantage unique in our history, not likely readily to recur. "They have had a leader French enough to hold the solid vote of one race, British enough in speech and semblance to divide the votes of the other. With Sir Wilfrid gone, this advantage will be lost for ever."

Speaking of the recent campaign, Mr. Leacock strikes his gait:

"The amazing part of the thing to the outsider is that the campaign accusations of peculation, corruption and graft counted for so little. No doubt enough of the accusations were true to have for ever damned either the Government or the Opposition in the eyes of an ideal public. But the Canadian public is not ideal. That is the trouble of it. The average Canadian citizen has an idea that the politicians, conspicuous exceptions apart, are a sorry lot of scoundrels. He deplores their wickedness, but wishes that he had their chance. That is the plain truth of it. Hence, the evil of corrupt politics—of the existence of which in Canada there is no shadow of a doubt—lies as much with the voters as with the politicians. We are not, taken in the lump, a very upright people. It would not do to say that we are a corrupt people. That is too blunt. But we have not yet, take us man for man, attained to any high degree of political integrity. Indeed, we have not yet had a chance. In our country nearly everybody is still looking for money. Not one man in ten thousand enjoys that settled and stable form of family position, pecuniary or otherwise, which can enable him to view money with indifference. We are a young people. We have in our history no background of robber barons, no magnificent land thieves in coats of mail, no quill-driving attorneys to bind our fortunes fast with laws of primogeniture and entail, no hereditary titles to enable us to know good families from bad. We are still as a nation in the groping stage, groping for money; when we have got it, plenty of it, and enough of it, we may hope to turn honest men. Meantime, and for the present, there is a sad lack among us of that rugged public morality found only among people too poor to hope to become rich or too rich to fear to become poor."

The reader may say "this is all very shocking but in Great Britain party politics are not carried on in this sordid fashion." No, not openly, certainly not, the Old Country politicians are too refined and do not give each other away in the unseemly fashion that both sides adopted here. But the principle or want of principle is the same. Ought not the sources of party funds to be made public? Is it certain that none of these came directly or indirectly from Government contractors? It is certain that most of the honours conferred are given for contributions or services to party and not for services to the nation as a whole. A Canadian newspaper has the following:—

At the recent Peckham Rye bye-election—where the government was defeated by the beer trust—a Brewers' Defence league was formed and voters were given free samples of stout. Most of these samples were extremely liberal in amount. There was nothing legally wrong

in a Brewers' Defence league giving away free samples to advertise its advantages. As the whole election was run on beer—being an attack on the Liberal Government's licensing Bill—the efficacy of the dodge was justified by results, the Government losing the contest by a sweeping defeat.

To afford a concrete instance of the amount of money spent during an English election on fostering goodwill among the voters it may be mentioned that the amount of beer bought in the election week ending July 15, 1895, exceeded the same week of the previous year—when there was no election—by the enormous sum of £337,000 ; representing the abnormal excess of just one million barrels of vote-making conviviality.

The ground-baiting of a district may involve two or three years of constant expenditure on it before it is ripe for working. Candidates often are defeated in a district simply because they did not begin spending soon enough. They nurse the constituency for another year or two, and then often, on a re-contest, the defeated man gets into Parliament with flying colours.

Elections in England usually take place in January, for the reason that all the voting registers are made up then, and it is easier to identify voters. Owing to the festive nature of the season, three or four weeks before the holding of the election there is a perfect flood of Christmas presents. It is usual for candidates to start what are speciously called Christmas parcel fund societies. They distribute free gifts, each parcel being worth about 6/– to 8/–, which reach the homes where they will count. One candidate was known to spend nearly £2,000 in this way. As the money was distributed for a perfectly legitimate object and the candidate was not associated directly with the Christmas parcel fund society the law could not interfere.

One effective method by which political candidates avoid the law as to corrupt election expenses is to hold back the official announcement of their candidacy until the very last moment. There is no law which can punish a merely prospective candidate for spending as much money as he likes in a neighbourhood. The consequence is that the intending candidate often lays out as much as £5,000 or more in salting a district before announcing himself as a candidate.

At election times in England considerable direct influence is brought to bear on voters through the channel of patronage. Many customers of tradesmen signify their intention to withdraw their orders if the tradesmen do not vote in the right manner—that is, according to the ideas of the particular customer. If a tradesman comes out into the open and displays any handbills or literature of an opposing candidate, the customers promptly withdraw their trade. As a consequence you seldom find a shopkeeper with an opinion which he is willing to express openly at election time, especially if his views incline toward radicalism.

Not only are the shopkeepers brought under this stricture, but the large factories, gas works and other institutions employing numbers of men usually manage to make it understood that they expect their employés to vote a certain way when the time comes. Foremen usually are able to ascertain the views of their men by nomination papers, which just before an election are handed round to everyone. While these nomination forms are not, of course, counted as official votes, they are a sure indication of the attitude of mind of the individual voter. If he refuses to sign the form it is taken as an indication that he is hostile, and men are often dropped for refusal to sign. In an election at Whitby, in 1905, a labourer on a large farm was fired because he came to dinner wearing a tie of the wrong colour. The

discharge of men three or four weeks after an election, usually for some trifling cause, is one of the most ordinary events in political shake-ups in England.

Landowners and their agents often serve their tenants with ejection notices if they ascertain that the latter are voting the wrong way. As most of the great landowners belong to the Conservative party this form of moral suasion is indulged in more frequently by Tories than by Liberals, though both parties freely resort to the tactics of ground-baiting and other dodges already mentioned.

To raise the funds required for carrying on a general election both parties promise honours of various kinds to generous contributors to the party funds, and the sale of knighthood and other titles is notoriously part of this system. Though the present Liberal Government when it first went into power made a strenuous attack on the House of Lords, it recently has come to light that the Liberals created more peers, that is conferred honorary titles in exchange for contributions to party funds, than did the previous Government of Conservatives. To obtain a knighthood in England the simplest way is by means of a heavy contribution to party funds. It is estimated that one may obtain a title anywhere from £4,000 up.

H. C. Lea, M.P., has called the attention of the House of Commons several times to this scandalous barter of honours in England ; and before long there will be a big agitation raised against this way of collecting election funds. Even though this agitation should be raised, however, it does not follow that this form of corruption will cease. The giving of pounds for peerages is now recognized as one of the easiest ways of getting into the nobility of England, which in consequence, has lost nearly all its old-time exclusiveness.

The interest in the present session of Parliament is supposed to centre chiefly on the fight the Government will make against the House of Lords, and on this subject "Mack" had some sensible and timely observations in the *Toronto Saturday Night* of Dec. 19th :—

A Committee of the British House of Lords thinks it probable that some plan could be devised for tying the Empire together by means of introducing Colonial peers to that body. It is a proposal that is not likely to meet with much favour in Canada. The House of Peers is rather too distant geographically and too remote socially from this country, its people and its problems, to make it much of a concern of ours whether its membership be increased five or ten per cent. by a few hand-picked personages from the colonies. It is not likely that the throwing open of the House of Lords to a few Rhodes peers, apologetic and with crinkly new titles, would at all affect the character of that ancient upper chamber. Under such an arrangement, a few men might be lost to Canada, but without gain to the Lords. They would be taken up in chariots beyond the vision—beyond the interest or concern—of their countrymen. These peerages would be conferred on selected persons by the King ; they might not enjoy the confidence of this country. Their titles would need to be hereditary or they would be an inferior caste in the House to which they would be called ; and is it not too late in the day to introduce hereditary titles among Britons over-sea ? Even should it be the reader's opinion that it is not too late, does he not admit that it is, at least, quite too late to reconcile Canadian opinion to the idea that any among us can be selected whose heirs shall by birth possess legislative authority over the heirs of the rest of us ? It is not a system to transplant, nor one to expand or

extend, but one merely to put up with in so far as it exists and is tolerable.

The average rapid-fire conversationalist in this country is quite contemptuous in his talk about titles. Men far beyond fear of the temptation of titles are quite sure they would scorn the offer of anything of that kind. Most of those who are offered honours from the throne accept them, and this being a British country, it is but natural that they should do so. When a man grows old and has won about all the glory that politics can give—when he has crested the hill, no doubt he likes to proceed down the other side with what distinction he may. As he grows older, too, his views change, and he reads new meanings into history. As the years race away he attaches a lessening importance to Confederation, and an increasing importance to the battle of Waterloo and the fall of Quebec. He thinks less and less of his victory at the polls and more and more about the little niche he is to occupy in history. So we see quite a few of our fiery young democrats in the course of a quarter century take kindly to titles. But these are not hereditary. They interfere in no way whatever with the representative character of our institutions. They express, more or less, the royal favour, and worthily bestowed honours of this nature sensible men cannot fail to respect. But the suggestion that this country should contribute to and accept an hereditary peerage as a ruling body for the allied British nations of to-morrow is one that few among us would entertain.

And on December 26th he says :—

Last year when discussion arose about ending or mending the Canadian Senate, the Hon. G. W. Ross arose in that chamber and outlined a scheme of reform by which that body would be in part elected by the people and in part appointed as at present. It looked like an attempt on behalf of the Senate to meet halfway those who condemn it as a legislative body wholly out of harmony with the age and country in which it exists. Some of the objections to the plan put forward by Senator Ross were mentioned at the time on this page, but it is not at all improbable that that plan was put forward as a feeler in the interest of the Laurier Administration, although the country did not at the time take it very seriously.

The House of Lords in England, through a committee appointed to suggest a plan for reforming itself, has proposed a similar half-and-half measure. This readiness to bargain for a half-loaf is not without significance. The suggestion of the committee of the House of Lords is that all hereditary peers shall meet and elect two hundred of their own number to sit and vote in the House of Peers—this election to occur every five years. The bishops would meet and elect ten of their number to sit as lords spiritual. Representation of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa would be provided for. There would be one hundred and thirty peers in the House outside those elected, these to include ex-Cabinet Ministers, ex-Governors-General, ex-Viceroys, and men who had won distinction in the army, navy, literature and politics. The present membership of the House would be reduced by one-third.

It will be observed that the hereditary peers would by this plan elect from their own number about half the House, and would under the other provisions of the arrangement, admit a sufficient further number to give them a strong working majority at all times. Hereditary privilege would be subjecting itself to no risk whatever. It would be pretty much the same House of Lords as now, except that

those who do not care to attend and are notorious absentees, would be relieved of the duty of attending. The real change would consist in giving representation to Canada and other outlying parts of the Empire, and this is scarcely what Canada or Australia would ask. In proposing this change the evident intention is to broaden, from the Kingdom to the Empire, the basis on which the peerage rests. Having fallen into disfavour as a legislative body at home, it would find new props beyond seas. The peers hereditary would join forces with the peers influential, those who grow formidable in politics, as leaders in war, or shapers of history in new kindgoms over seas. In this body Canada would be represented by her ex-Governors-General, by her Strathconas, Mountstephens and other winners of large fortunes who might measure up to standards ensuring them royal favour. It is extremely improbable that more than a very few Canadians could be induced to endorse any scheme of political government for the Empire that includes representation on any basis either hereditary or by appointment.

The Senate, as it exists, cannot endure. It has failed in every respect except as a house of refuge for spent and wearied politicians. It was designed in the first place to save the country from the people—to protect the established order against a Parliament elected on a franchise deemed much too broad by certain old gentlemen who were asked to revise the details of Confederation. The Senate was designed to baffle any foolish Parliament that the people might elect at any time. It was meant to do what the House of Lords did in the United Kingdom and which that House will perish for having done. But our Senate has not even served that purpose, although, in the nature of things, it will, if left alone become a second and extra chamber specially devoted to protecting the interests of the privileged classes. It is curious that the people should continue to nurse an infant of such parentage and sinister promise.

The people should have no fear of the people, and it is difficult to find a reason why such a Senate as we have in Canada should be expected to place any desirable check on our House of Commons. We voluntarily maintain a Senate to baffle Parliament, and we condemn it because it does not do so in the slightest measure. Yet the real objection to it is that it has in it the makings of an actual force that may one day embarrass popular government. The upper chamber, one would think, should be removed while it is useless, since in the next stage of its existence, it is very likely to be worse.

On the other hand the Conservatives appear to be looking for the Lords' question to bring about a dissolution of Parliament, and between a war scare on the one hand and the retrograde and capitalist policy of Tariff Reform, hope to oust the present Government. On this latter subject I cannot do better than quote from the editorial page of the *Vancouver World* of November 27th :—

For reasons which we need not stop to go into now, the news and comment which reach us from Great Britain concerns itself far more with the protectionist movement than with the battle which is being steadily fought for the maintenance of free trade. We hear a good deal about the Tariff League, for instance, but very little about the Unionist Free Trade Club, the organization in which is gathered that section of the Conservative party which has not been converted to the Birmingham creed. How many of us, indeed, have realized that there is any considerable number of Conservatives who are not protectionists

How many that the great business interests of the country are not worshipping the gods of the new political economy ? Yet the other day the Unionist Free Trade Club gave a dinner to the bankers of London, which the bankers attended, presumably, because they were in favour of free trade. Lord Avebury presided and as his remarks seem to show that there is something still to be said for free trade we quote him at some length :

The abandonment of free trade and a return to protection,—we make use of a synopsis—would be as great a misfortune as another war. Free trade was the charter of our commerce, and the basis of our prosperity. He believed that most bankers were free-traders because they did not consider particular industries by themselves, but looked to commerce as a whole. Manufacturers saw that, if protected, they could sell their products at higher prices, but did not realize that they would have to give more themselves for what they bought. The complaint now was that foreign countries supplied too cheaply. Commerce was simply shopping on a large scale. In private life who made it a grievance that things were too cheap ? If we were really receiving goods from foreigners below cost price, such a system of commerce might ruin them, but could not injure us. If they would give us their productions for nothing it would be better still. Moreover, a general duty of, say, 10 per cent. would not stop dumping. Manufacturers would pay the 10 per cent., put up their prices 10 per cent. or a little more, and make the public pay. That which protectionists called fiscal reform was not progress, but a step backward—a return to the times during the first half of the last century. From 1800 to 1840 there were taxes upon almost everything. It was that old system which had rendered possible the system of trusts from which America was suffering so much, and which had enabled a few magnates to make enormous fortunes at the expense of the public. Protectionists very properly attached much importance to the question of employment. They maintained that protection would secure more work for our people, if so, that would no doubt be a great advantage, and would make up for a considerable decrease in our commerce. It was often said that the United States, France, and Germany had, by their fiscal policy, secured more regular employment for their people. Was there any authority for such a statement ? As to Germany, figures were often quoted, but the Board of Trade had told them (under the Unionists) that the figures could not properly be used to compare the actual bent of employment in the United Kingdom. Unemployment in the United States was so much worse than here that there was actually a reversal of the current, and workmen were leaving the United States and coming here. In the first nine months of this year 244,000 workmen went to the United States and 493,000 came away, so that the balance returning from the United States had been no fewer than 250,000. By making everything dearer and life more expensive no doubt a few would profit, and some great fortunes would be made. But who would suffer ? The clergyman, the lawyer, the doctor, the merchant, the schoolmaster, the clerk, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the labourer—in fact 95 per cent. at least of the population would find the expense of living increased, and life more difficult. For bankers the serious consideration was the injury which this retrograde policy would inflict on the industries and commerce of the country."

Another speaker said that Mr. Chamberlain was the only man in Great Britain who could have survived the gigantic blunders of his own argument. But will the argument survive Mr. Chamberlain ?

The *London Observer's* view I take from the editorial page of the *Toronto Saturday Night* :—

The people of Canada at large will learn with surprise that Canadian preference is to be the issue of the next British election—that this question is being forced upon the British Government by high feeling on the matter in the Dominion. This is the way English papers are putting it. For example, read this from *The London Observer* :

" The *Times* rendered a national service in publishing from a correspondent at Toronto a full and excellent summary of Lord Milner's Canadian speeches. Most of us were acquainted with isolated passages from these masterly addresses. Few had a previous opportunity of considering them in connection with each other and studying their method and spirit as a whole. Now that we can review them as a campaign of reason on behalf of Imperial unity we see that in their temperate power and compressed lucidity nothing quite like them has been delivered before, even by their author, and we understand why they made a deep impression upon the Canadian mind.

" If the speeches can be reprinted in pamphlet form, they will have as profound an effect upon this side of the Atlantic. For it is here, and not there, that the struggle must be fought out. Canada has given preference so far as it depends upon her. She is willing for some time longer to maintain it, and to keep other suitors waiting. But the spirit of her economic policy is active and progressive. She cannot keep its whole movement indefinitely suspended for the sake of our ' beaux yeux.' The simple question is whether we mean to follow suit or not—whether we definitely agree or refuse to enter into Imperial partnership upon a basis of commercial reciprocity. That, and that alone, will be ' the dominating issue ' at the next General Election—in spite of anything Mr. Asquith may propose to the contrary—and upon the result will depend the fate of the British Empire.

" Canada would not and could not wait for another appeal to the constituencies. Let us never forget for a moment that in significance for her political and commercial development, a decade of her life is equivalent to more than a generation of ours. She will take our answer at the next General Election as final. Lord Milner brings this out with quiet but extraordinary distinctness. If he could have his way, the question to be presented to the people by the Unionist Party would be as clean-cut, as concentrated, as unmistakable as possible. He would fight on the single issue. It is needless to say that his Canadian speeches were not rhetorical. Lord Milner uses no verbal pigment. The singular force of his addresses lies in the fervour of their very substance, in the interior strength of their thought, in the condensed and definite enthusiasm which exerts a moral magnetism upon everyone who comes within its influence. It is the glow of anthracite and not the fire of straw. Hence his power of communicating conviction and making even ordinary words potent.

" Lord Milner found the Imperial sentiment weakening in Canada. He arrested that decline. He knows that preference is what we may venture to call a disappearing option. It cannot now be all that it might have been made half a decade ago. But its possibilities still possess decisive value. Lord Milner has convinced the Dominion that the next General Election in this country will create a majority and a Government in favour of Imperial reciprocity. For another year or two, Canada will probably hold the door open. More cannot be expected. In the opinion of every competent critic who has recently

visited Canada, there is just time to save the Imperial situation, but there is no time to lose"

As to all this, *Saturday Night* merely wishes to remark that we had no idea whatever that the situation out here was at all alarming.

"Mack's" opinion taken from more than one of his "Front Pages" is :—

In the *London Observer* there appeared a couple of weeks ago these words about Canada : "The Dominion is literally saturated with American influence, personal, journalistic, financial ; and in spite of Lord Grey's splendid and devoted efforts the Imperial sentiment is weakening in the absence of any vigorous effort to promote it on the part of the Mother Country. . . . . Unless preference is conceded in the next few years, there can be no hope of preventing such a tariff treaty between the United States and the Dominion as would destroy the possibility of any permanent connection between Canada and the British Empire." These statements from *The Observer* are gravely quoted in other journals such as *The National Review*, *Public Opinion* and others of like class and standing.

The object, of course, is to influence British public opinion in favour of tariff reform, but surely it would be possible to advance that cause without resorting to the use of arguments and statements that people in Canada are bound to resent. Is "the Dominion literally saturated with American influence, personal, journalistic and financial ?" This country is saturated with the very same influences, whatever they may be, that caused troops to be sent to South Africa and a preference to be given to British goods—both of which actions *The Observer* would interpret as evidence of a fine Imperialism. The attempt to make it appear that the people of this country are a lot of sheep flocking towards the neighbouring Republic with no shepherd but Lord Grey to guide them aright, and the task beyond him, is one that will make the average Canadian hot under the collar. If it were true that the people of Canada were of any such mind as *The Observer* endeavours to suggest, neither "the splendid and devoted efforts" of the present Governor-General nor "vigorous efforts" from any outside source would count for much in the ultimate issue. But there is no such condition as the literature of tariff reform seeks to make out. The people of Canada are very much at their ease. Both political parties are committed to the protectionist policy. It is highly improbable that either of our parties would withdraw the existing preference on British goods ; it is practically certain that either of our parties would cheerfully meet any proposals for mutual preferences put forward by Great Britain or any of the colonies. The average citizen would like to see this thing given a try-out.

As to reciprocity with the United States, it may be said that there is nothing in the history of past negotiations on the subject that would lead one to suppose that our neighbours are capable of framing up any kind of an offer but one so jug-handled that we could afford to refuse it with our eyes shut. It may be that under peculiar circumstances they might vary the long monotony of proposals ludicrously one-sided ; they might do this in the hope of tying us up elsewhere to our disadvantage but our relatives at home might do us the credit of believing that by this time we know Codlin from Short.

There appears to be a conspiracy on foot to deceive the people of Great Britain in regard to Canada and her North American relations, and as Canada, in the process, is being put in a very poor light, it

seems necessary that the press of this country should not ignore the subject.

In a word, an endeavor is being made to persuade the British public that a crisis has arrived in the history of the British Empire, and that unless the people of the United Kingdom cease pondering and forthwith give Canada a tariff preference, this country will conclude a reciprocity treaty with the United States and be absorbed, first fiscally, and then politically, by the Republic.

When Lord Milner returned to London a few weeks ago after his visit to this country, we were informed in a despatch that he expressed his belief that he had succeeded in so stiffening opinion in Canada that we would, for another period, put up with British indecision in regard to tariff reform. This was news to us. We were not aware that Lord Milner had come to us as a physician and that we had responded to his skilful medicines.

Lord Northcliffe returned home from Canada a few weeks ago, also, and in the *Daily Mail* soon after, appeared an editorial entitled "America's Bid for Canada." It referred to the vote of the New York Chamber of Commerce in favour of reciprocity and continued: "If such a treaty is concluded it will mean nothing less than the absorption of Canada by her neighbor. This will be a disaster to the British race and end all the noble dreams and aspirations in which the largest minds of our race have indulged." The *Daily Mail* appeals strongly to Canadian patriotism to "show patience, for though the states of the Empire have waited long and been rebuffed often, the period of suspense is fast drawing to a close."

The average Canadian who reads the despatch quoting the words of the London *Daily Mail* will scarcely know what that journal wants him to be patient about. He is not aware that he has a grievance; that he has waited long, and been rebuffed. Nor is he conscious of having had his opinions stiffened or in any way influenced by the speeches that Lord Milner delivered to a few people of his own way of thinking while he was here. It is quite evident, however, that a small group of Britishers and a small group of Canadians are busy helping each other to fashion an Empire, and are getting each other excited as they run to and fro on the job.

The attempt to persuade the British public that the Dominion of Canada is a great big wabbly, gawky youth of a nation, with no mind of its own, no character and purpose of its own, and is only saved from flopping over into the arms of the neighbouring Republic by the wonderful loyalty and watchfulness of a few individuals here, the artful speeches of a few titled visitors who come to us now and then, and the promises made of petting and fat rewards when tariff reform comes—the attempt to picture this country in this light is one that can scarcely prove pleasing to Canadians.

There is no crisis anywhere in sight so far as one can see from any of the hills surrounding Toronto. Almost any of the oldest inhabitants will testify that he never knew the country so entirely at its ease, and indulging in so few conjectures as to what is enfolded in the mists of the years ahead.

Very few among us show any concern about the agitation in Great Britain on tariff reform. Most of us regard it as a domestic matter in which we have no inclination to meddle. Some of us are not quite sure that inter-Imperial relations will become more fond if put on the basis of bargain and agreement, nor that trade can be conducted between us according to poets' ideals instead of on the principle of

mutual advantage, keenly pressed on each side, so that advantage may be what it can be.

The British preference granted by Canada was granted by a ministry that wanted to get even with some people. The Liberals of this country had had " the old flag " shoved down their throats until it nauseated them. The Conservatives had carried the elections of 1891 as " the loyal party." They worked this for all it was worth, but other things not being equal, their vociferous loyalty did not save them at the polls in 1896. The Liberals gained office, and one day the new ministry announced its policy granting a preference on British goods entering the Canadian market. Anyone who saw the Liberal members stand up in the House of Commons that day and sing " God Save the Queen," will remember how thoroughly they enjoyed this turning of the tables on their opponents. It was a great stroke of politics. But it was a means of getting even in another quarter, too. The Liberal ministry had tried to negotiate a freer trade arrangement with the authorities at Washington—had tried to keep promises long made to the country in this respect, and had entirely failed. The failure was attended with circumstances personally annoying, even exasperating, to the Ottawa gentlemen concerned in it. Sir Wilfrid Laurier declared that grass would grow on the path to Washington so far as he was concerned. Not only did the preference to British goods enable the Liberal ministry to get good and even with party opponents who had adopted the word " loyalty " as a party trade mark (which they forthwith relinquished), but it provoked much interest at Washington, for it was a novel and unexpected move, and in it were serious possibilities of injury to the United States.

As a stroke of policy the preference at that time had other advantages. The Liberals were expected to lower the tariff, and by this means they did it without doing it, if one may so express it. That is to say, the protectionist wall was lowered at one point—it was done strikingly, dramatically, nobody could fail to know of it—and yet, except in a few items, there was no inrush of goods of a class to dispute with our protected manufacturers for possession of the home markets. The preference had no such upsetting effect on our protected industries as would have followed had the tariff been slightly lowered on manufactures from the United States, for there are many wares used in Canada that are made only in North America, or not made elsewhere in the shapes, sizes or kinds that people fancy. The preference was, then, a great stroke of policy in various ways, and those who framed it have greatly admired it ever since.

But it wasn't and it isn't, the poor little tear-stained offering of a loving daughter laid on the doorstep of a hard-hearted and brutally indifferent mother. Nor will Canada enjoy being pictured in any such role in the present melodrama of British politics—rebuffed, turning away heart-broken to seek shelter in the home of the stranger ! Canada is not worrying about tariff reform in England, nor about reciprocity talk in New York, for this country has not the slightest doubt that she can get along famously should nothing come of either of these movements, and feels quite competent to take care of herself in negotiations with either party—without losing her free agency, either fiscally or politically, in either event.

There is no shadow of reason for saying in England that haste must be made with tariff reform or Canada will pass beyond reach. People in this country are extremely sceptical about reciprocity talk from New York or Washington. We have heard it before. Should representatives of the two countries meet we shall find, as usual, that our

neighbours will lay before us in some new form a glittering proposal to admit raw materials from this country into their country free of duty, if we will admit their manufactured articles free into Canada. Every ten or fifteen years some clever politician across the border happens on this idea, thinks it a new one, and doesn't rest happy until he has tried it on us. Let our cousins in London be easy in their minds about the resolution of the New York Chamber of Commerce. Over here we know what it means. Somebody in New York has happened on the same old idea of arranging a nice friendly reciprocity treaty with Ottawa, whereby Canada can ship pulpwood free into the United States provided the United States can ship paper in all its forms free into Canada. Also, they will admit our wheat, if we will admit their flour, bread, biscuits, cakes, and other products of flour, whether in boxes, tins, barrels or crates. They will offer to admit our lumber free, if we will admit their furniture, office fixtures, beds, bedsteads, mattresses, wire fences, gas and electric fixtures, cut glass and leather goods. And when, after six months haggling, no treaty can be agreed upon, they will be genuinely surprised that we do not accept their offers. Let nobody is England worry for the moment because Uncle Sam is talking of reciprocity with Canada. His idea of reciprocity with us is an arrangement whereby he can sell us a train-load and buy from us a pailful. We already spend three dollars in his shop for every one he spends in ours. None the less, he is a great old boy and an inspiring neighbour, in so far as material progress is concerned.

"Bystander" in the *Weekly Sun* says that the Englishman who had witnessed the effects of protection and of the change from it in England would as soon think of reviving the cholera as the corn laws. This from so close an observer of the trend of events as Prof. Goldwin Smith should make the younger generation cautious about favouring a policy whose deplorable failure is still remembered—(Toronto *Globe*).

It will be noticed that in referring to the United States, the English newspapers speak of "American influence, etc." "America's bid for Canada." My experience is that Canadians resent this, they claim to be just as much American as the inhabitants of the United States. A Tariff treaty between the Mother Country and Canada would not counteract the United States "influence, personal, journalistic and financial," as the *Observer* puts it. This is due to the proximity of the two countries, the inducements given by the Canadian Government, the Canadian Pacific and other railways to capitalists and others to cross the border and exploit its resources, and that many of the newspapers in Western Canada at least get most of their outside news via the United States and have arrangements with New York and other U.S. publishers for the supply of magazine pages, etc. If Canada in the remote future, separates herself from the Old Country and joins the United States, it will be because the United States capitalists and homesteaders are practically the possessors of the Dominion. By solving the Unemployed Problem in the manner I have suggested not only would the British Isles be benefited, but the bonds between Canada and other Colonies and the Homeland would be tightened.

Then there are those who advocate Local Option, the bigoted section of whom look upon the destruction of the liquor traffic as the panacea of all human ills. I have been a teetotaler for nearly forty years and believe the world would be much better if everybody

could be persuaded to abstain from intoxicating drinks, but those who are of the opposite opinion and who think they are benefited, should not be compelled to abstain. That the drink traffic as at present conducted is a curse all will admit, and ought to be purged of its horrors. This could be done by deferring the nationalisation of the railways for a time and instead by nationalising the sale of drink. Let all the profits on the sale go into the national exchequer. The nation should buy up all existing interests at their actual and not at an inflated value, and place managers over the distilleries, breweries, public-houses, etc. If some of the owners of hotels preferred to keep them, allow them to do so, but on the condition that the Government list of prices should be conspicuously placed and only those prices charged. Base the prices on the amount of alcohol in the liquors, thus favouring " lager " and other light beers and light wines. The prices should be equal to those now charged and increased rather than otherwise on spirits. Make it a criminal offence to either make or sell at a profit any intoxicants, with a minimum penalty for infringement of six months imprisonment with hard labour. In all places where intoxicants are sold to be drunk on the premises, supply tea, coffee, cocoa, Bovril, Lemco or other fluid beefs, etc., and encourage the sale of these by paying a commission to the manager.

" Hal " in *Toronto Saturday Night* of Dec. 19th says :—

> In discussing the question, the professor pointed out that we must take human nature as it is. He reminded his hearers that men are so differently constituted that it is impossible by legislation, to put all on a level of desire. This is the fact on which Dr. Muensterberg based all his arguments, and it ought to be the starting point for all discussion of the drink evil. But as a rule the militant prohibitionists and " temperance " people do not start here at all. Their only reply, when questioned as to this essential fact, is to cry, " Nonsense," and to set the questioner down as an enemy of reform, a man of evil motives. They agitate for temperance most intemperately. They seek to rescue men's lives as some seek to save men's souls, not through the human nature that is in them, but in spite of it. A bloodless man, a well-protected woman, can no more comprehend the forces that operate in a virile man battling in a strenuous world than a simple, stolid plodder can understand the complex organism of a man of imagination. You cannot distribute virtue by a prohibition law, or by local option, or by cutting off saloon licences here and there. But you can stimulate the growth of virtue and temperance by teaching men self-restraint.
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> Doctors differ. Dr. Henry Smith Williams, writing in McClure's Magazine, says that any indulgence in any form of alcohol is detrimental to mind and body. Dr. Muensterberg denies this. But we may set aside this phase of the matter altogether in looking for a remedy for the evils that arise from drinking to excess. We all want to see these evils done away with. But if prohibition fails why not frankly admit its failure ? Professor Muensterberg says that it is a failure wherever tried in the United States. It results in the secret sale of the worst kind of liquor, in lonely drinking, and in the increase of drug-taking and other evil habits. Underneath a clean surface is a growth of mean and detestable crime. He looks to see prohibition

sweep the whole of the Republic, but thinks that this " superficial-simplicity " cure will be followed by a reaction startling in its results. He classes prohibition with socialism and other proposed short-cuts to Utopian conditions, which he believes are quack remedies, ignoring the bases of all reform—individual enlightenment and self-discipline.

When agitators for prohibition find men of the type of Professor Muensterberg opposed to such legislation as being wrong in principle and futile in effect, it ought to set them thinking. It would be well if all those who are actively engaged in " fighting the liquor traffic " would learn toleration—if they would bring themselves to understand that there are many people everywhere who earnestly deplore the evils arising from intemperate use of intoxicants, but whose interest in the matter is alienated because of the narrowness of so many self-appointed champions in this field of reform.

Mack " on the same date also refers to this subject :—

Owen Sound has been under local option for two or three years, and just now the town is rent asunder on the question of repeal. Some visitors from that town tell us that while the law has not been thoroughly enforced, it has worked for good ; others tell us that the law there has proved a failure.

Within a week or so both a judge and a magistrate trying liquor cases there have remarked upon the prevalence of perjury. " Upon my word," exclaimed the magistrate, " more perjury has taken place since local option came into force than I ever imagined could happen." Witnesses, without the slightest hesitation, seemed to step up and swear to whatever would answer their purposes. A convicted liquor seller, on being tried on a charge of perjury, was acquitted by a jury, and the judge in discussing the case lamented the prevalence of perjury and remarked on the indelible injury it worked on individuals and the community. Men once perjured are trustworthy no more ; those who know of their crime, yet sympathize with it, have their standards hopelessly warped. It is matter of common knowledge that much false swearing attends local option, perhaps some of it on the part of those often questionable characters who serve as detectives in procuring convictions, but, no doubt, most of it on the part of those accused of violating the law and those who, much against their inclinations, are called as witnesses. For perjury there can be no excuse. The witness who swears falsely cannot exonerate himself on the ground that he opposed the restrictive law at the time of its passage, resents its operation and does not intend to respect it. Nothing justifies perjury ; nothing can repair the wreck it works on a man's character. Yet there is a point here not to be overlooked in considering the expediency of the local municipal enactment of local option in a place like Owen Sound, and it is this that men are what they are and many of them are willing to be outlawed in resistance to local option, and some will go the length of blackening their souls by perjury on account of it. They resent the law, resist it, evade it in every way. The adoption of a local enactment of this kind is not a matter of necessity but solely one of expediency, and in considering its expediency there must be taken into account all the results that arise from it. It is a man's place to consider whether the general welfare is improved or damaged as a net result.

Much is written in the public prints on one side of the subject of local option and not very much on the other. It is not fashionable to print anything that might appear to represent a newspaper as being out of sympathy with moral reform. There is, indeed, a splendid

zeal for moral reform expressed in the modern press from the great yellow journals of New York downwards, and the more deeply involved a newspaper is in lootings, conspiracies and political frauds, the more careful it is to express moral and pious sentiments. It is a cheap and easy settlement with the public conscience. But local option is a good thing only if it works for good—if it yields a net result in the way of improved social conditions. Where it seems likely to do that it should be tried. Where it seems to have done that it should be retained. Where it seems to have failed in that it should be rejected, even though local prophets should be discomfitted. It is probable that experience will show that Bishop Farthing, of Montreal, is correct in his view that local option will prove successful in rural communities where it can be enforced, but not in large towns and cities where arbitrary measures will scatter, outlaw and degrade the trade without suppressing it.

One effect of local option in a place like Owen Sound is that those who drink are supplied with a quality of liquor not allowed to be sold under the licence system. Supplies are secured in the most compact form possible, and, in one way and another made to spin out as far as they will go. It is stated that one Owen Sound dealer, not previously a licensed seller, sent an order to a wholesale house in Toronto for £120 worth of the strongest and cheapest spirits procurable. He got what he asked for. That which he secured was the alcoholic refuse of a sugar factory, and of a quality not recognized as fit for human use; it would have been seizable under the pure food laws of any country, and is ordinarily used for cutting varnish and in other chemical operations. Of course, those who believe in local option do not want this kind of stuff sold, nor any other kind of stuff. But it *is* sold and consumed in places like Owen Sound under local option and not under the licence system.

A business man in Toronto whose affairs take him to smaller towns at frequent intervals tells me that he visited an Ontario town one day last month. It was not Owen Sound. Four times during the day men with whom he was transacting business offered him, in their own offices, " a nip of something in case he cared for anything of that sort." When he received a fifth invitation from the Mayor of the town in his office, the Toronto visitor admits that he held out no longer. " In the twenty years I have been visiting that town," he says, " I never saw liquor, nor was offered any, except in my hotel." In fact, men who do not lead cloistered lives know that these things occur and that prohibitive laws will be evaded so long as half the people resent them.

Other Party issues are Disestablishment and the Education Bill; as to the latter the following is from the editorial page of the *Vancouver World* :—

The fight is entirely with respect to the teaching of religion in the schools. We have solved that problem here by allowing no religious teaching whatever, but as the great majority of English people seem to want their children to learn the elementary truths of Christianity where they learn the elementary rules of arithmetic, the Gordian knot cannot be cut in our simple fashion. The English people, however, would probably be quite satisfied with non-sectarian Bible teaching, but, unfortunately, the clergy and ministers of the churches cannot agree among themselves as to who should give that teaching and how it should be paid for.

Whilst sympathising with the Rev. Dr. Clifford in his fight as the leader of the passive resisters, as being in the direction of freedom from the domination of any one religious sect, that such a stand should need to be made in the twentieth century of the Christian era, shows how little Christ's teachings are practised by His professed followers. Christianity should only be taught by those who are not only professing but practical Christians. Saying prayers may not be praying. The definition that appeals to me is :—

Prayer is the Soul's sincere desire,
Uttered or unexpressed.
The motion of a hidden fire
That trembles in the breast.

Prayer is the breathing of a sigh,
The falling of a tear,
The upward glancing of an eye
When none but God is near.

The Suffragettes are to be made a Party Question this season and here again the *Toronto Saturday Night* comes to my aid, but this time it is their New York correspondent under date of December 8th. In his previous letter he mentioned the meetings and promised to make himself acquainted with the movement and this is the result :—

> The Suffragettes are upon us, and the male brow hereabouts is wearing a becoming expression of anxiety for the home. Curious, is it not, that whenever a creed, a tradition or a domestic institution—even to the warming of our slippers—is attacked, we fall back on such pious platitudes as " the sanctity of the home," etc. The last defenders of dying faiths from time immemorial have been these pious humbugs who will never distinguish self-interest from the world's spiritual welfare.
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> The suffragette movement simply means that the game is up. We are found out. Ages ago we appropriated the universe and defined the functions of women. Child-bearing, sewing on buttons, and the slippers—these things constituted their division of the labour. For a diversion we gave them religion and saw to it that they had at all times a virgin in good standing to worship. From the male standpoint the arrangement was perfect, while it lasted. In the nature of things, however, it couldn't last for ever. The women have thrown down their cards and demanded a new deal. Why, we need not ask. They may be all wrong, they are probably ill-advised, but as good sports we must grant the request. I hope it is not betraying my sex unduly to characterize their assumption to give or withold the privileges of the universe from them as an impertinence. Once we had the power it seems, but now even that is gone. And, to be quite honest with ourselves, brother, come what may, can the women bungle the job of running the world worse than we have ?
>
> The loss in little domestic comforts is, of course, more serious. But even these may be made up to us in the economic readjustment that is bound to follow. Meanwhile the repairing can be done at the laundry and cold slippers in out of the way places, we shall soon grow accustomed to.

For the long work day,
For the taxes we pay,
And the laws we obey,
We want *something to say.*

The Suffragettes are upon us and this is their slogan. The italics, of course, are mine, frivolously designed to prove by internal evidence that whatever their virtues, these fair reformers are not humorists—at least not conscious humorists. Something to say! This is a limitation which few will recognize, I fancy.

Well, they have been saying it this week, and in some instances they said it well. As the daily press has no doubt informed you, Friday last was a general field day for the Suffragettes, a reconnaissance in force, on this the Empire City of the Western world. The principal gathering was the Carnegie Hall meeting, and the principal speaker Mrs. Snowden, who talked of the London movement. According to this lady the cabled accounts have done the Suffragettes a grave injustice. " You have heard," she said, " that we behaved like female Hooligans, and have upset the House of Commons. . . . . Some women," she admitted, " have done things on their own initiative that have been unwisely done . . . . but a cause must be judged by its strongest advocates, not the weakest," she argued. Of the other side of the story—for the story it seems has two sides—we have heard nothing, because, as Mrs. Snowden strongly intimates, much of it " would not be fit to print."

Mrs. Snowden is a handsome young woman, with a mass of blonde hair and a clear pleasing voice—not at all the belligerent one would expect in a Hollaway jail martyr. Our sympathies might have been wholly captured for the cause and its advocate, but for the timely arrival of Mrs. Wells, whose realistic and rather boastful account of a Suffragette attack on the Commons last October, would seem to confirm the cabled accounts of their queer antics. Mrs. Wells can hardly be reckoned among the " weakest advocates." Here is her description:

" The previous assault having failed, we planned a secret attack on October 28, from five or six points. Miss Matters and Miss Fox fastened themselves with the heaviest chains they could get to the grille in the visitors' gallery. When Mr. Remnant, of Finsbury, started to speak Miss Matters could not resist a " remnant sale," so she drowned his voice out. They tried to throw the two women out, but it was useless, and they had to be filed loose. During the filing process they continued to talk and stopped the business of the House.

" We had to sleep on boards on a stone floor with a straw mattress, and the prison was dirty and unsanitary. Then, we had to get up at five o'clock in the morning and scrub out our cells with icy cold water and wash the tins. We worked ten hours a day, and had to go to bed at eight o'clock. We were kept in solitary confinement and not allowed to talk to any one."

The Carnegie Hall meeting was remarkably harmonious and representative. Society was there in full force, contributing almost an opera night splendour to the remarkable scene.

The afternoon meeting of the antis, held at Berkeley Theatre, was far from harmonious. A little band of Suffragettes, led by Mrs. Wells, almost provoked a small riot during Dr. Lyman Abbott's address, and the service of the police were finally needed to quell the disturbance. A feature of this noisy meeting was the reading of President Roosevelt's letter, in which he confessed to only " a lukewarm interest in the movement." In view of his well-known utterances on certain social questions, involving among other things the functions of women, this attitude was not unexpected. He believes in " an equality of right," but he does not believe that " equality of right means identity of function."

Evidently the Suffragettes regarded the letter as of some weight,

for Mrs. Catt, who presided at the Carnegie Hall meeting, and does not belie her name, administered to the President this severe scratching: "We know that a tree toad when it is on a brown bough is a brown toad, and when it is on a green bough it is a green toad. We know that he knows that women do not vote and that he can therefore afford to be lukewarm."

The following is also from the *Toronto Saturday Night*:—

A writer in *Life* indulges in these somewhat timely reflections:

Those of us who happen to have been born women, and wish to remain so, are having a hard time of it. It is expected that we shall vote, that we shall go about lecturing, or, if we have social ambitions, that we shall play bridge, travel the rounds of resorts, tour Europe, and deck ourselves out in all sorts of fantastic and grotesque habiliments.

There are some of us, however, who desire to be women. We wish to retain our native modesty, and that superiority over the men which comes from being permitted to perform our natural functions. We do not care to compete with men on their own ground, because we feel that this would be a distinct abrogation of some of our sacred privileges.

One of the reasons why we desire still to be women, is that we desire to continue in power. We, as women, are somewhat fond of politics, of what the world is doing. We prefer, however, to exercise our power in these directions through the men, whom we can easily control, rather than to unsex ourselves, and by placing ourselves on the same level with them, permit them to exercise their own inclinations without our interference.

We prefer to superintend our own households, as we have never had cooking done by outsiders that quite took the place of the dishes we have learned from our mothers. Neither do we care to look any more hideous than necessary when walking abroad. Therefore, if there is no objection on the part of any one, we will remain women, and whether as old maids or mothers, continue to exercise our progressive influence."

When women have obtained the vote, they are not likely to be satisfied with that and the Premier, to save any further unwelcome visits, should forestall their next move by creating a third chamber to be called the House of Ladies. The voting lists of men and women should be kept separate and women should vote for women, and men for men. As the House of Commons is overworked, part of the Bills of a session could be given to the House of Ladies to ventilate and pass if they had not enough of their own to start with. Bills of both Chambers to be overhauled by each other before being sent up to the House of Lords.

Army and Navy.

The next obstacle to Party Government if not equal in importance, preventing any practical solution of the Unemployed Problem is, that under present conditions it is a necessity to have a portion of the population on the border line of poverty so that recruits may be

obtained for the Army and Navy. The curse of a standing army is that it gets tired of standing. Both officers and men are fired with enthusiasm at the glorious deeds of other days and desire to emulate these and gain distinction for themselves and their country. This may not be the case with those regulars who went through the Boer war, and certainly not with the majority of those who volunteered and gave up their positions to fight for their country, and returned, having escaped being killed by the Boers or the insanitary conditions with which they were surrounded. To justify the enormous expenditure on the Army and Navy and as an excuse for further inroads upon their purses the public are terrified by bogeys. Some years ago it was France, but thanks to His Majesty, who appears to be always on the side of peace, that one was got rid of. Now it is Germany, and at the time I am writing the King is on a friendly visit to the Kaiser, and a section of the English press has the bad taste to choose such a time to encourage a war scare which may do much to counteract the good that must otherwise result from this visit. If the King should get rid of this bogey also, the warmongers will soon invent another. From the description of the play which is causing such a furore, and at last arousing the people to the danger of an invasion, one wonders how the Germans managed to have a fog on hand on a Bank Holiday, and also as plays are now staged so realistically, if it is one of the pea soup variety, how the audience manage to see the play. Mr. Barrie is reported to have said he wished he had written the play, and no wonder with Lord Roberts praising it and the press giving it free advertisement, the royalties must be enormous. If the people instead of believing these wild rumours, would only think, they would want to know what France would be doing whilst Germany was conquering the British. The only real menace to the peace of Europe so far as the Great Powers are concerned, is the retaining by Germany of Alsace and Lorraine. When the King is negotiating the fifty years treaty of peace let him be empowered to arrange the payment of a sum to Germany for releasing those two provinces to which all the Powers should subscribe. If the following from the *Victoria Colonist* is correct, the German Emperor has no power to declare an offensive war, and if the English Government were shorn of that power and could only do so through a direct appeal to the people through the referendum, these war scares might be less frequent :—

> Herr Mueller, speaking in the Reichstag, reminded the members that the Kaiser is not sovereign of Germany. This is a statement of unusual interest, for if ever a ruler assumed the role of sovereign, Kaiser Wilhelm has done so with a degree of confidence, which has successfully imposed upon the world. The German Empire consists of twenty-five sovereign states, namely, four kingdoms, six grand-duchies, five duchies, seven principalities and three free towns. In addition Alsace-Lorraine is included in it, but it is administered by the central authority. Germany is therefore a confederation, and the supreme direction of its military and political affairs, as a confederation, is vested in the King of Prussia, who therefore assumes the title of Deutscher Kaiser. This dignity is by law hereditary in the House of Hohenzollern. The Kaiser is the executive officer.

> He represents the empire internationally, can declare a defensive war and make treaties; but for an offensive war he must receive the consent of the federal council or bundesrath, which is a body representing the several states. The Kaiser appoints all German ambassadors, but each state may appoint its own ambassador. The consuls are appointed by the Kaiser. No law can be passed without receiving an absolute majority of the bundesrath and reichstag, and the sanction of the Kaiser. The suffrage is universal, every male person over twenty-one being entitled to a vote. Therefore when Herr Mueller said that the Kaiser is not the German sovereign, he was quite within the limits of the constitution. The difference between the German system and our own is principally in the fact that in Germany the ministry is not responsible to the representatives of the people, but only to the Kaiser. Their policy may be criticized to any degree; their plans may be thwarted by the refusal of either of the imperial councils to pass the necessary laws, but they may continue ministers as long as the Kaiser wishes, and there is no check upon him in the discharge of those functions, which are vested in him. With us every public act of the King or his representative must be stated and justified to parliament by the responsible ministers. There is nothing in the German system corresponding to the British principle that "the King can do no wrong."

The attempt to invade England by Germany would probably also bring internal troubles from the Socialists who are a powerful body there and who would be opposed to war.

Instead of increasing the standing army and its attendant evils, the objects should be to reduce it to the needs of foreign service. Presumably a certain number would have to be at home so as to relieve those abroad, and these should suffice to keep the home defences ready for any emergency. For home defence, let every boy the first session of school the year he is 10 years old, commence training under a drill sergeant, for at least half an hour each week. The drill sergeant would be able to take several schools in a district. To commence with, enrol all boys at school above the age of ten. On being enrolled let each receive a parchment certificate giving all particulars as to name, age, etc., and at the end of each year enter in columns provided all particulars as to number of drills, conduct, efficiency. The boys should go through all the training of a soldier and some of the older boys should be appointed as officers. After leaving school the training to continue one evening in the week for half an hour or an hour. Let those willing every year spend their fortnight's holiday in camp, going to a different camp every year, so as to make it as much a change and a holiday as possible, the camping out, however, to be compulsory once in three years. When workhouses are abolished, the buildings could be used as drill halls, and one of the wards fitted up as a miniature range. On their certificates in addition to number of drills, etc., would be entered occupation and the number of weeks unemployed. On going to another town or district he would at once report and take up training there. The certificate would act as a character, and the boys and young men should be taught to prize it as such, and this might deter many from crime. The aim should be to make the training as little irksome as possible consistent with discipline and efficiency. Should

an invasion take place every male over 14 would be available for defensive purposes. In small towns and rural districts the firing of an arranged number of guns would bring out the first line of defence, and these would at once put on their khaki overalls and hurry to the rendezvous, others would be called as required. In London and other large cities and towns where the noise of traffic and other difficulties would make the firing of gun useless, the signals could be fired from captive balloons by electricity. There should be no uniform except a suit of khaki if that was considered necessary, officers should be supplied with different coloured armlets to denote their rank, regular troops would of course have uniforms as at present. All able bodied citizens should be considered part of the army. At the commencement those who were over school age should be invited to enrol themselves but not compelled. Arms and ammunition should be in charge of the regulars. Should the unemployed be taken off the labour market as I have suggested and should more regiments be needed than those to relieve the forces abroad, some of these should be industrial regiments, the idea being that the soldiers in these regiments should be half their time employed; two men would take one job and occupy the position during alternate weeks. If a sudden demand for labour arose, then some of them could be allowed to work full time and be relieved of their regimental duties, and if slackness prevailed, then three men could occupy a position, doing one week's work and be two weeks in barracks. The great aim should be increased efficiency at considerably less cost than at present, and thus reduce the excessive rates and taxes which in some instances amount to 10/– in the £ on the rateable value.

I need not repeat here Lord Roberts' speech given before the House of Lords on which important occasion when their Lordships were no doubt notified that the resolution was to be submitted, out of a membership of 616, only 106 put in an appearance. Lord Crewe took up the right note when he said in effect that such statements in the present highly-strung condition of Europe might lead to regrettable consequences.

This is the view point of *Colliers' Weekly* :—

"BOB'S" FALSE ALARMS.

"Bobs" spends his declining years in the midst of alarms. When he was in Canada a touch of the sun, the excitement of the Quebec Tercentenary, and the stage-whispers of Rideau Hall caused the old hero to talk more than was desirable. He told us then to sleep on our swords and advised conscription. He was wrong, of course, but we forgave him for the dangers he had passed. His latest speech in the House of Lords shows how thoroughly he is obsessed with the idea that thieves are going to break through and steal the British Empire. "Bobs" speaks as if the army were England's sole support. Surely the navy would have something to say! The invasion of England is no longer the easy matter the Romans found it, or the Danes or the Angles and Saxons or the Normans. Barring that little accident in which Van Tromp figured, England has not brooked the foot of foreign foe for a thousand years. Spain tried it and lost an Armada. Napoleon would have liked to do it. He gathered a great host on land and

sea, and looked across the Channel with wistful hate. But prodigious storms and his own fears came between. Will Germany and its chastened Kaiser dare more than the conquering Corsican ? It is the testimony of travellers that the decent, sober, every-day German people do not desire war with anybody. The rank and file of the army do not want war, and they hate conscription. Only the Kaiser and the whisky-and-soda colonels and the strutting subalterns, whose interest it is to breathe smoke and cannon-fire, keep that sort of thing alive. Now that the War Lord has been muzzled by his own Reichstag, now that the prize Butter-In has been dehorned by his own Chancellor, it looks as if Lord Roberts' panic were twenty minutes late. The truth is that " Bobs " has been reading too many novels. For some years now British fiction has revelled in the prospect of a German invasion. It was a plot ready made, and all it needed was a few figures and some technical patter to give it an artistic verisimilitude. It was a lazy imagination that couldn't fill in details from the reports of the War Office and the gossip of the military clubs. Besides, anything that hinged on German aggression was a good seller. If our memory serves us aright, there were two such last year—one by Dawson and the other by Quiller-Couch. In each case the book ran into the hundreds of thousands. " Bobs " no doubt, read both of them. They were well worked out and plausible enough to deceive a Field Marshal who could not be expected to understand that authors may employ a certain kind of meticulous patriotism to fatten themselves and frighten others. If " Bobs " had known, he might have told them that they weren't even original in their remarks. The German invasion goes back to a brilliant little skit entitled " The Battle of Dorking," published in " Blackwood's " in 1871. It was written by General Sir George Tomkyns Chesney, K.C.B. Like " Bobs " he had seen long service in India and it had given him the jumps. " The Battle of Dorking " is to take place in 1925. But what of it ? Why should it turn battle-scarred veterans into battle-scared ones ? Particularly when there isn't a half-pay general dozing behind his newspaper anywhere in England that hasn't a plan for hurling 'em back, demme sir, hurling 'em back before they have a chance to set foot on this sacred soil.

" Mack " says :—

Last week we anxiously enquired : " What has gone wrong with the people of England ?" This is still the question. Lord Roberts has made a speech that surprises the world, and proves that a good soldier may be a very poor statesman. He explained the comparative ease with which Germany could land an army on the shores of the Britsh Isles—the transports, the men, and all other facilities being now ready. There are, he said, eighty thousand German workmen in England, all trained soldiers, who would join the invaders. The British navy could be drawn away by raids in another direction while the German transports came down on the coasts. What Great Britain needed was a great home army capable of rendering invasion hopeless.

Some of us have been made familiar with this kind of talk in certain works of fiction meant to arouse the Empire to the need for a great military establishment—such books as " The Invasion of 1910 " and " The Riddle of the Sands." We have read scare articles in some of the magazines and weekly papers, too, but it is a different matter when Field Marshal Lord Roberts arises in the House of Lords and gives utterance to alarmist views quite as startling as any invented by the writers of fiction.

The despatches tell us that the speech made a great sensation, as well it might. The Earl of Crewe is reported as having remarked on the seriousness of such a speech in the present high-strung condition of Europe's nerves. He feared there might be regrettable consequences.

Already the consequences are regrettable. When a man who seems in foreign eyes, to occupy a foremost place in British affairs, admits that Britain's power is a mere sham and that she lies at the mercy of Germany whenever that power cares to crush her, there must follow instantaneously a loss of British prestige in the Far East and everywhere else.

Those of us who are within the Empire know that Lord Roberts was riding his hobby when making that speech. When he visited Canada last summer he talked conscription and advocated militarism unseasonably and tactlessly. But foreigners will not see him as a little excitable fussy old gentleman riding his hobby; he will be Great Britain's war leader unable to conceal his terror of Germany. Those of us in the Empire may fairly ask why Lord Roberts did not press his opinions on the War Office and on all those who may be described as the rulers of Britain, instead of blurting out his views to the world in this sensational way. We may fairly answer that he has for years past impressed these views of his on the War Office and on the leading men of Great Britain, but he has been unable to convince them that his views are sound and his alarms well grounded. They have turned down his vast army schemes. Now he takes matters in his own hands and makes a speech calculated to throw public opinion into a panic. But it does not follow that he is right and the responsible rulers of England wrong.

Lord Roberts has made his speech at a time when Great Britain and Germany are in a dangerous relation. The Kaiser has been humiliated and his people exasperated by that English interview. In the British press for months there has been a tone, unaccountable to a Canadian reader, of hostility towards Germany—almost as if you could find between the lines the hint that, as war with Germany is considered inevitable it might be better to provoke it now than wait until Germany is good and ready. But it seems absurd that two great nations should contemplate war in this age.

The *Vancouver World* publishes these from London and New York sources :—

MARTIAL WAVE SWEEPS ENGLAND.

MILITARISM IS RAMPANT IN GREAT BRITAIN AND GENERAL PUBLIC SEES WAR WITH GERMANY NEAR—HALDANE'S SCHEME STILL LACKS 50,000 MEN OF FULFILMENT.

LONDON, Feb. 8.—A remarkable wave of newspaper militarism swept over England during last week, which delights the friends of the "larger army," and alarms the supporters of the Liberal party, who see in this only unnecessary public expenditure and sentiment for war with Germany.

The territorial army scheme of Mr. Haldane, secretary of war, still lacks more than 50,000 men of the number to its fulfilment.

The National Service League, of which Field Marshal Lord Roberts and Lord Curzon are moving spirits, has chosen the psychological moment to issue an appeal for more recruits. The newspapers, which have taken up the cry for soldiers, are using sensational devices to

advertise their propaganda and to incite apathetic youths in England to enlist. Some employers have been stirred to interest themselves in the cause, and are offering inducement to their workmen to join the territorial forces.

London's complement still lacks 11,000 men and the funds contributed will be applied to the works of the London County Territorial Association in seeking to make up this shortage. One of the largest insurance companies, of which Lord Rothschild is president, has resolved that all clerks employed by it, after March 1, will be required to join the Territorial army. The old " London Scottish " regiment, whose ranks are short, made a long march through the streets to-day with bagpipes strenuously playing, for the avowed purpose of attracting reinforcements.

The matter is becoming more and more a political question of defence. The agitators declare the country must have more volunteers or adopt conscription.

In all quarters Germany is pointed out as the possible enemy against which the island must prepare, and the call for soldiers and for six more Dreadnoughts, which came on the eve of the visit of the King and Queen to Berlin, seems an unhappy coincidence, for Germany's increased naval programme was launched at the time of the Emperor's late visit to England, and created much feeling here.

This week will throw light on the government's naval policy, and an announcement of important interest to the United States is probable. Premier Asquith, it is predicted by the inner circles, will hedge on his recent pronouncement that the government purposes to keep the fleet equal to those of any other two powers, plus 10 per cent. He has excepted the United States from consideration in this plan, giving as a reason that the United States is such a distance from England that her battleships cannot be considered so strong potential forces as the same number of ships of nations near by.

Public Mind on War.

New York, Feb. 8.—A *Times* despatch from London says : " England is apparently in a panic over the possibility of an invasion by a hostile army. Numerous incidents following the production of the play, ' An Englishman's Home,' based on such a possibility, show the state of mind of the general public. The solemn warnings which Lord Roberts has been uttering for two years, and the fervid speeches which Mr. Haldane, the Secretary for War, has been making all over the country, have done their work, and, under the influence of the realistic play, the whole people have awakened to a realization of what war would mean. Nothing is talked of in the street, the club, the home, except the defence of the islands."

A martial wave no doubt engineered by the Conservative party in pursuance of their usual policy to detract attention from home affairs and needful reforms and create a feeling that they are the saviours of the country, and so pave the way to a return to power. Why Mr. Haldane should foster the same feeling which is not only against the interests of the country, but also of his own party seems a mystery. The opinions attributed to the King in the following are so opposed to any attitude that he has taken up that they seem almost absurd. The *Vancouver World's* correspondent says :—

FEARS FANTASTIC.

KAISER'S OFFICERS BELIEVE THAT LORD ROBERTS' FAMOUS SPEECH WAS FOR PLEA FOR ARMY THAT COULD TAKE OFFENSIVE.

BERLIN, Jan. 5.—The celebrated cavalry officer, General von Bissing, has joined the ranks of the military experts who ridicule Lord Roberts' theory of a possible invasion of England. Lord Roberts judgment, he says, is far too clear for him to be credited with such fantastic fears. Consequently the suspicion arises that the Field Marshal was thinking less of the defence of his country than of operations on continental soil.

The *Vossische Zeitung*, which is suffering just now from an attack of Anglophobia, states that when President Fallieres was in London he declared to King Edward that France could only convert the Anglo-French entente into the alliance desired by the King if Great Britain could place an army of at least 300,000 men in the field for continental purposes. The King, says the journal, said: "Not Trafalgar but Waterloo founded England's position in the European concert during the nineteenth century."

The King's plans, the journal adds, encountered the opposition of the Liberal cabinet, which considered the creation of a large army during the next two years to be impossible simultaneously with the maintenance of the British fleet at the two-power standard. Thereupon the King "endeavoured to persuade Germany to suspend her naval programme in order to be able to carry out his military plans." This attempt was made, the journal concludes, "by endeavouring to outwit authoritative persons of the German Empire."

The following paragraphs are from different issues of *Toronto Saturday Night*:—

On Saturday last in making a public speech in Berlin, Emperor William read his address from a printed sheet handed him by Chancellor Von Buelow, instead of reeling off such remarks as seemed best to himself. Thus he made public submission to the new order of things. When a man talks, not wisely, but too much, he generally has to pay for it in one way or another.

Lord Roberts can say what he likes while Emperor William must read the speeches prepared for him by Von Buelow.

This is what the *Windsor Record* thinks: If Lord Roberts really believes that an army of 500,000 men could easily and quickly invade Britain, he should not get out and hysterically vent his fears on the house-tops. It is safe to say that even if such an invasion could be accomplished with a British fleet in the North Sea, the greater part of the half million would have to stay. They might get in by some miracle not yet revealed, but they would never get out.

Concluding an article on "War" in a recent issue of *The Canadian Magazine*, Professor Goldwin Smith says: "For the writer, a look at the contents of a field hospital which he chanced to see after an engagement, was enough. Not all the soldiers who slay and burn are fighting for their country. Some are mere mercenaries, slaying and burning for hire. Sir John Macdonald told the writer that there had been 40,000 Canadian enlistments in the American civil war. That war will soon cease and give place to rational modes of settling questions between nations is more than can be hoped. But we may learn to think seriously of war as the curse it really is, and to abstain from invoking or applauding it. There need be no detraction from the

honour due to the genuine soldier, who goes forth at the bidding of his country, and is responsible neither for the cause of the war nor for its inevitable consequences. But we need not cultivate militarism."

Discussing the speech of Lord Roberts and the question of conscription, the *London Bystander* protests against a too-ready acceptance of the idea that " because Germany is our likeliest invader, we, the great and proud and free British nation, must as a matter of course, promptly proceed to Germanize ourselves. . . . The idea that the best way to beat the Germans would be to remain Britons has not occurred."

In reference to the Navy " Mack " says :—

One Government follows another in Great Britain and renews the the announcement that the navy will be maintained on a basis ten per cent. stronger than the combined navies of any two other powers. It seems an impossible undertaking, especially if the eighty million people of the United States should decide to invest their surplus taxation in naval armaments instead of squandering it in fraudulent pensions.

No disposition is shown by Canadians to have Canada join Great Britain in sharing the cost of a two-power navy. Indeed, it is probable that the Navy League in this country could tell a story of considerable discouragement in its efforts to interest public opinion in anything relating to the subject. And yet it will come about in time that if we are to be of the home we must do some of the housework.

There are few Canadians who would assent to a proposal that taxes should be collected, boxed up and sent across the Atlantic to support a navy of which we know little and in the direction of which we could have no voice. As we can bear no hand in making war or in negotiating peace, it seems fitting that the navy most feared and formidable in the world should be maintained by those whose engine it is.

The *Toronto Star* says :—

BATTLESHIPS A MENACE TO PEACE.

Admiral Evans is quoted as having declared that the new United States battleships are superior in fighting power to the British Dreadnought. To this boast the Ottawa *Journal* responds with the statement that the Dreadnought is already outclassed by some of the latest additions to the British naval forces, and that by the time the United States has equalled these Great Britain will have still more powerful engines of destruction under way. These two statements taken together furnish further evidence of how wide-spread the evil is that is following upon this mad rivalry in battleship building in which the great nations of the world have become engaged. Not only has this rivalry been the cause of creating distrust and even hostility between two nations which have never drawn the sword against each other—Great Britain and Germany—but it threatens to weaken the genuine friendship which has of late years grown up between Britain and the United States. Carnegie never spoke more truly than when he declared that battleships, so far from being a guarantee of peace, are really calculated to provoke strife.

The *Farmer's Advocate* says :—

THE MARK OF THE BEAST.

The world has been regaled considerably of late with reports and interviews of the possibility of war and conjectures upon the relative

strength of nations. Men who should be cool and on cordial terms with governments in other countries, become agitated and proclaim a danger, the only safety from which is, they say, "in time of peace prepare for war."

When will intelligent humanity ever learn to despise war, to be ashamed of it? Not at least as long as governments keep on building Dreadnoughts and flaunting their military strength in the faces of foreign nations. Nations are but collections of individuals. Imagine two neighbours sending each other notes protesting that it is in the interests of both and of the community in which they live, that they should dwell on neighbourly terms, then after agreeing to the proposal, each goes about, putting heavier locks on his doors, spends about one quarter of his total income on firearms, explosives and hired men to handle them, and maintains spies on the other neighbour's farm to keep him posted on what is going on. Are these the conditions that are conducive to harmonious relationships? Yet this is what the world powers are doing and what Canada is being urged to do.

Does any one suppose that if Great Britain and the United States had placed fleets on the great lakes to insure peace, we would have lived these hundred years of harmonious intercourse with our neighbours? The modern army and navy should be the humiliation of every nation that supports it. It is the unmistakable token that passion is supreme and reason supine in the governments of the world.

A few days ago the *Vancouver World* announced that the Admiralty Board threatens to resign unless six Dreadnoughts are laid down, and that the Right. Hons. John Burns, Winston Churchill, Lloyd George and Lord Morley threaten to resign if more than four are ordered. For the benefit of the country, a change in the Admiralty Board would be preferable to losing the services of these gentlemen; unless they could be persuaded to commence a campaign through all the constituencies against the excessive expenditure on the Army and Navy, which is the outcome of party government, and try to persuade the electors to choose independent candidates so as to form a Government really by the people for the people. A Government based upon what was right and not what was expendient, that should redress wrongs, that was above bribes whether in the shape of honours or money, and whilst adequately protecting the nation should advocate peace.

The airship having at last become more or less a success, must of course be used for war purposes. It will be some time before the private craze for airships has reached the stage of the automobile, and in the meantime easy money can be made out of the Government if the Duke of Argyll and others can only get the people sufficiently frightened.

MUST RULE AIR AS WELL AS SEA.

DUKE OF ARGYLL POINTS OUT BRITAIN'S PERIL—DECLARES SHE IS NO LONGER AN ISLAND—FOREIGN AIRSHIPS OVER LONDON MIGHT STIR THE NATION.

LONDON, Dec. 19.—Speaking before the new British Aero Club the Duke of Argyll took his turn at warning the English public that the day may soon come when it will regret bitterly the indifference with which it continues to regard the whole subject of aerial conques from a defensive point of view.

" The best thing that could happen," said the Duke, " in order to awaken the public to a proper appreciation of its position would be the appearance of an airship, preferably steered by a German, French or American driver, some fine morning stationary above the Bank of England. This might bring home to the people the fact that under the new conditions they cannot expect always to have England to themselves. Frontiers are fast being obliterated by machines such as the Wright brothers have made possible, and every nation recog nizes it except the British."

A Peril of the Future.

The Duke's speech was described on the programme as on " A Peril of the Future." His remarks included an account of the efforts which are being made at Aldershot and also in Scotland to turn out an effective British model aeroplane. He explained, however, that these things are not enough, since from public subscriptions must come the funds with which to train aviators, as has been done in France and Germany. Men who had money to spend must spend it for the patriotic cause, he said, of " keeping England an island," which it now no longer was. England must keep the supremacy of the sea—that went without saying ; but it also must now have the supremacy of the air.

Regarded like Comic Opera.

Other prominent speakers declared that the average Englishman .s still inclined to regard the subject of ballooning as material for nothing but the comic opera and that his attitude toward the whole matter is so casual as to constitute a national danger of the most pressing description.

Monthly meetings of the Aero Club have been determined upon in order to create as far as possible some sentiment on the subject and to convince the conservative Britisher that if he wants to preserve himself he must now spend millions upon the air as well as upon the water.

It is the Conservatives who are working up this new scheme, and it suggests that they are going to exploit the frightened Britishers if they can. What aeroplane manufacturing company are they interested in ? The commonsense Britishers will keep their millions in their pockets or banks, and have no fear of England ever being invaded in such a manner. The *Argonaut* in far away San Francisco can tell them what risks they run :—

The Nation's Airy Navies.

Councillor Martin, a well-known German writer on aeronautics, has taken occasion in a public speech to reassure Lord Roberts on the point of a German invasion of England. It is, he says, impossible that 200,000 men should land unobserved on the British coast, and it would certainly seem that an army of that size should be distinctly visible to the naked eye even of the self-complacent Briton and long before it was ready to descend " like a wolf on the fold." But Councillor Martin's benevolence is delusive. He does not mean to say that England will not be invaded, but only that it will not be invaded in the common and everyday way. Councillor Martin rather favours the aeroplane and he pins his faith to the Wright machine, which is a delicate tribute to American invention. He has it all figured out to a nicety, and it must be gratifying to John Bull to see such mathematical precision. An aeroplane costs £1,000, it carries two men, and it can easily cross the English Channel. Fifty thousand aeroplanes

would cost £50,000,000 and would transport 100,000 men. The thing is simplicity itself, and no doubt Mr. Wright's representatives, with true commercial enterprise, are already trying to book that order. Of course, Councillor Martin does not want to see war between Germany and England. He uses all the cant phrases about insurance against war usually associated with naval secretaries who are asking for appropriations, but he feels that unless those 50,000 aeroplanes are ordered forthwith it will be impossible for Germany to maintain the respect essential to peace. And now it only remains for some fanatical aeronaut upon the other side of the channel to urge upon the English Government the importance of building just twice that number of aeroplanes. Then a fresh cycle of hysterical competition will be started, and the Wright brothers will feel that business is picking up after all and that financial depression has no terrors for them.

The *Vancouver World* of January 19th, discusses the question in more serious vein :—

AIRSHIP OF NO REAL USE.

WRITER IN ENGINEERING NOW CONFINES IT TO AMUSEMENT PLANE—MIGHT BE OF VALUE IN FRIENDLY COUNTRY AS DESPATCH BEARER OR IN ARCTIC EXPLORATION.

It is quite possible that those industrious persons now engaged in floating gold mine stocks or in perfecting various impossible " electric " processes, may turn in the near future to the promising field of aerial navigation, says the *Literary Digest.*

We are told by *Engineering News* (New York, Dec. 10) that public announcement has been made of the incorporation of one company to operate a line of freight and passenger airships, and it fears that there will be plenty more such companies advertised within the next few years.

We may expect also, this paper thinks, that companies to build, sell and operate new types of flying machines will before long seek stock subscriptions in every city in the country. How shall we distinguish the false from the true ? The advice of the journal named above is to keep clear of the whole business. Aviation, the editor thinks, is certainly not yet in the commercial stage.

He says : " So far as the possibilities in freight transportation are concerned, it may be passed with a word. Wherever ordinary methods of transportation on land are available, it will be absurd to carry goods of any sort through the air. The cost of such transport would be measured not in mills ($\frac{1}{20}$th of 1d.) per ton mile, as in rail or water carriage, or $\frac{1}{2}$d. per ton mile, as in wagon haulage, but in dollars (4/–) or hundreds of dollars per ton mile.

" It is true that for exploration in difficult country, as over the Arctic ice or in rough mountain regions, there are possibilities in the airship. But such use, of course, is rather scientific than commercial.

" For the carriage of passengers, the necessary risks attendant upon flight through the air, either with the dirigible balloon or the aeroplane, are certain to limit passenger traffic to the field of sport and amusement. This is, of course, a much more considerable field than is often realized. The public is willing to pay very high prices for mere amusement, and it is altogether probable that a few years hence aeroplane flights will be a drawing card at country fairs and other public occasions, just as ordinary balloon ascensions have been for a century past.

" The experience of the high-speed automobile, too, has proved the existence of a very large leisure class of wealthy men, who find vent for their surplus energies in undertaking all sorts of risky exploits. Flight through the air may very likely become as popular a fad a few years hence as automobile racing is to-day ; but it will have just as little relation to the serious, practical, every-day business of carrying freight and passengers for the great workaday world as have the hundred horsepower automobiles that break speed records in France or America."

But surely the flier is to bear a conspicuous part in the warfare of the future ? No ; the writer will not even allow us this crumb of comfort. We read :

" It is said that the leading military nations are vying with each other at the present time in the development of military airships, but this does not prove that these structures can be made practically useful in the serious business of warfare. . . . . Of all the apparatus ever proposed for use on the battlefield, a flying machine is beyond all question the most vulnerable. It offers an ideal mark to the bullets of the enemy. Its limitations of weight forbid its protection by any sort of armour. Had the flying machine been developed forty or fifty years ago, when projectiles were limited to small velocities and short ranges, it might have performed some service in observing the enemy's forces ; but with modern infantry rifles discharging projectiles with an initial velocity of 2,700 feet per second, and with light artillery fitted to discharge a perfect hailstorm of bullets having equal velocity and range, the rise of an airship at any point within several miles of a hostile army would be merely the signal for its immediate destruction.

" There is, however, one possible field of usefulness for the aeroplane, should it be developed to be reasonably reliable, which seems to have some promise. This is the bearing of despatches across friendly territory. It is doubtful whether the dirigible balloon, with its enormous bulk and the vast amount of material required to handle it, could be of any practical service to an army in the field, even within its own lines. If, however, an aeroplane can be developed which can ascend and alight at any desired point, it might be made use of to carry messages back and forth between the posts of an army operating in the field."

The Boer war is surely of too recent date for the nation to want to enter upon another unjust and aggressive campaign, with the consequent loss of life and treasure. The *Mail and Empire* throws some light on the subject, in dealing with the Leyds pardon and in part says :—

Memories of the last days of the Transvaal Republic are recalled by the announcement that Dr. Leyds is no longer an outlaw, so far as South Africa is concerned. Lord Selborne, the high commissioner and governor-general of British South Africa, has given Leyds permission to return to the scene of his ante-bellum activities. Moreover, on the recommendation of Premier Botha, the British Government will allow him a pension. The constitutions granted the Transvaal and Orange River Colony exhausted our capacity for astonishment at the magnanimity of the present British government ; were it not so we should be amazed that Leyds, the man who has as much responsibility for the war as any other man, living or dead, should be forgiven so soon, and actually rewarded for his services.

As a matter of fact, the pension to Leyds may be susceptible of a very simple explanation. It will be remembered that though Leyds "out-Krugered" Kruger in his hostility to the British government, he was suspected of having betrayed the Boers when he saw that their cause was doomed. . . . . For years before the war broke out friction existed between Great Britain and the Transvaal. Summed up, the British contention was that Englishmen, and all other foreigners, should enjoy the same civic rights as Boers in the Transvaal. These rights Kruger refused to concede. But he knew that at the end of all the negotiations, he would be forced to give into the superior force of Britain, unless he could find allies in his quarrel. . . . A usually well-informed writer declared some years ago that Leyds' one ambition, after the collapse of the Boer Republic, was to become a representative of the British government in some capacity. Having been pardoned and granted a pension, it seems not unlikely that this ambition will be realized.

This war cost the country about 200 millions, and instead of being wasted as it was, if it had been loaned only, in 1900 for the benefit of the unemployed in the manner I have described, there would be no Unemployed Problem now, the principal would have been repaid and a permanent fund for present and future use created of at least forty millions.

The *Vancouver World* gives the following in its issue of November 30th :—

WAR WOULD BANKRUPT NATIONS OF EUROPE.

VIENNA, Nov. 30.—Dr. Schaffie, formerly Minister of Commerce of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, and an expert in statistics, furnished the following figures as to the cost of a possible war of the future :

He starts out on the supposition that all, or nearly all, the States of Europe would be drawn into this awful war, threatening to break down European property for years to come.

The doctor gives the following figures in detail :

The first two months of the world's war would require cash expenditure of 20,000 millions of francs—£800,000,000—this money being required for the cost of mobilization, transportation and other initial expenses. All the powers, big and small would have to pay their share towards the £800,000,000, but aside from that they would have to face the daily expenses of keeping up an army and making actual war.

These daily expenses, the ex-Minister of Commerce estimates as follows :

Germany over	£800,000 per day
France over	800,000 per day
Great Britain	900,000 per day
Austria-Hungary over	400,000 per day
Russia	950,000 per day
Italy over	400,000 per day
Spain	350,000 per day

These are the very lowest estimates, and unless the various Governments are, like Germany in its war chest, well supplied with ready cash, the cost of daily warfare by all the powers may reach £6,000,000 per day.

Capitalist Employers.

Another obstacle is the capitalist, using the word more or less in the sense that the socialists of Western Canada do, who divide the world into capitalists and working classes, these being antagonistic to each other. Masters and servants would be nearer the mark, as masters often work harder than their servants. I know when the socialists are questioned they say that some masters are actually servants, but unfortunately, the men they employ do not show any more if as much consideration for these than they would if they were millionaires. The fluctuatons of trade cause a number of men to be employed a portion of their time, and a surplus of labour helps to keep down wages and also to supply workers if needed, therefore it is not to the interests of the capitalists from their point of view to solve the Unemployed Problem, and in this I think they are entirely mistaken, and I have already shewn that by having industrial regiments, the fluctuations of trade could be partly if not entirely met and thus avoid the misery which is caused by a large class being on the border line of want. There are good and bad capitalists as well as there are good and bad in all other classes of society, and their rights should be respected, but they should be granted no more privileges than any other class. If their wealth is gained honestly no one should begrudge them the fruits of their labour, whether of hand or brain, if however, it is gained dishonestly they should be publicly prosecuted, made to disgorge, and imprisoned as any other thief. That leading lawyers and barristers should derive part of their income by advising rich clients how to evade the law is dishonest. Judges should be allowed some latitude and treat such cases as though the law had actually been broken. If Mr. T. A. Edison were an Englishman, no one would wish to deprive him of his wealth, but on the contrary would desire that he should have the highest honours bestowed upon him. The *American Magazine* editor interviewed him recently :—

> " I've retired," he said, " from money-making. That's what I have been trying to escape from. Now I'm free and I'm going to have some fun. Money has got me into all the trouble I've ever had. If you want lies and entanglements and trouble, just go in for money-making. If you want to meet rascals and have friends turn out bad, get into business ! No, I don't like the crowd or the game. I don't see how any man can go in for money-making as a real business in life. It would kill me. I don't need much of anything personally, but I've had to have a lot of money for my work. It's come, somehow, and now I've got all I need and all I want—and I've retired."
>
> " And you're having fun ?"
>
> " Yes, I'm having the fun of my life—steering clear of anything that has any money-making connected with it. I'm trying some chemical experiments. For years I've been making notes—I've got a lot of books up there filled with suggestions which I've been planning to work out as soon as I could get the time. Now, I'm going at them—not to make money—but just to find out things. I'm going to put a lot of things together and take 'em apart and see what the result is. That's the greatest fun in the world."

The dishonest capitalist is described by " Mack " in discussing the leaving out the " u " in labour, honour, etc. :—

> While not caring much how the general dispute may be settled, I would rather like to see the missing letter restored in one of the words. It does not seem to me that " honor " is what " honour " used to be. In other days it meant a great deal to a man, and whole families thought much upon it. In the days when men prided themselves on their business honour we did not have all this graft, these embezzlements, these conspiracies on the part of secret combines to crush out individuals. But while a man's " honour " used to forbid him to accept dishonest profits, it seems that his " honor " only asks that he get his loot legally.

Working Classes.

The so-called working classes themselves are also an obstacle. That so many are unemployed they ascribe chiefly to over-production and yet inconsistently claim that the Government should give them work, this if necessary will only increase taxes, and help to make the country poorer. Their leaders whether labour or socialist offer no practical solution. The socialists want to get possession of the Government so that they may confiscate the means of production and having got it would not know how to use it, and the working man would be worse off than at present. Working men make a mistake in looking upon their employers as enemies, and in thinking that their interests are opposed one to the other, for of course there are bad masters as well as bad workmen, but the interests of both are that the trade they are engaged in should be a success.

If a working man agrees to work for a certain wage, it is his duty to do his best for his employer ; there is, however, an unwritten law with some of the societies that the men are to restrict the output, and through this mistaken policy much work which might have been done in England has gone to the Continent. It has been suggested that more boys should be taught a trade, but this can only be done by their being apprenticed, if they afterwards wish to join the Trade Unions. Here again some of the societies step in and will only allow a certain percentage of apprentices. If the following be true taken from the London correspondent of the *Vancouver World* of January 18th, it will be an evil day when such working class representatives as are here described, get the reins of power :—

> Ever since November 1905, when all the world " not in the know " was startled by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's appointment of Mr. John Burns as President of the Local Government Board there have been incessant intrigues going on in the Government ranks to oust him from his position.
>
> Mr. Burns has been beset by enemies in the Liberal ranks who looked upon the plums of office as rightly belonging to the governing classes of which they formed a part.

His promotion caused furious jealousy in the Independent Labour party. The Liberals who had Socialistic tendencies were glad that Mr. Burns had been made a Cabinet Minister and placed in the office so well fitted to his nature and experience.

The ultra Radicals and the Labour party have never ceased to resent the appointment of Mr. John Burns instead of Mr. Will Crooks, who, it was argued, was, as Chairman of the Poplar Board of Guardians, well qualified to act as President of the Local Government Board, was more popular with the working classes, because he humoured them, than was Mr. Burns, who, stern and unrelenting in his denunciation of all wrong-doing, was not afraid to upbraid a section of the workers for their faults and failings.

Mr. Burns held that these faults kept the workmen in bondage to all masters, and he saw no social salvation for the working classes except that which was of their own working. To that view he tenaciously clings to-day. He believes in helping those who help themselves.

A certain number of the Labour party managed to get plenty of engagements to speak here and there at so many guineas—called expenses—but when the Poplar inquiry came about, the demand for their services fell off, and up to the present has not gone back to its prosperous point. The Poplar inquiry seriously affected the prosperity of certain well-known orators of the Labour party, and for that inquiry Mr. John Burns has never been forgiven.

In spite of the fact that he has done more for the health, wealth and happiness of the people in the three years he has held office than any other President has ever done, he is hated by the leaders of the class he has done most for. He is hated because he will not be squeezed; because he will not turn to the right nor the left from the path of duty; because he resisted the "Right of Work" bill; because he will not grovel before the Independent Labour Party and take his orders from them; because he is sent for by the King to discuss unemployment; and because he will not shut his eyes to the danger which would threaten the country if the government made themselves responsible for providing every man with work.

He knows that the Liberal party has begun the death struggle with the Socialists, and he knows that the latter will not win. He knows that the country prefers the Asquiths, the Morleys, and the Greys to the Keir Hardies and the Victor Graysons. And he is at the Local Government Board to carry out his duties as a statesman and not as a politician. His is the most difficult office in the government, because it affects the everyday life of the people, the majority of whom pay for the privilege of being governed.

If he has failed at all, he has failed to give the hungry army of office-seekers who pester him for jobs under the Local Government Board the snug posts they seek.

His enemies will have to content themselves with their modest guineas for fees received before they step on the platform to show what a hardhearted man he is. Their fees for their "turn" are showing a downward tendency, and their incomes are suffering.

In the section of the press which supports, or professes to support, the present Government there is a wild jealousy that facts relating to the work of Mr. John Burns should appear in opposition newspapers, but unless the truth were told somewhere there would be no chance for it in the columns of the papers guided by people who are bent upon driving him from office.

Charity.

Charity whether organized or unorganized is another obstacle. Under present conditions both are commendable but also tend to create a race of beggars and paupers. Having solved the Unemployed Problem, the State or municipalities should provide for those not able to work and who are unable to do so or have no relatives to provide for them. There would only remain the class that could work, but would not, and these should be sent to industrial prisons.

The *International Bookbinder* says :—

> Labour doesn't want charity; it wants work to support itself honestly and decently. If labour is denied the right to work, then those responsible for that condition can only blame themselves if there is a revolt against the system that has conferred privileges upon them and their favours are abolished.

" Beth " in the " Woman's Page " of *Vancouver World* says :—

> The latest craze in London to-day is the craze of charity. Those who know how awful is the need and the poverty in that great city will hope that it will not only be a craze—a fashion of the moment—but that it may continue until, if that were possible, the last hungry mouth is fed, the last ragged child sent warmly clad to school. It is Mrs. Asquith, the brilliant and talented wife of the Premier of Suffragette fame, who has started the movement, and she is being ably seconded by Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton, wife of the Colonial secretary. A very large number of society people have flocked to their banner, and " slumming," it may be safely assumed, is the most popular occupation of the day. Of course, it may only be the desire for something new to do that has created the movement, but one would rather prefer to think that it is the dawning knowledge of what Browning has summed up as " the worth of flesh and blood." It is not necessary for us to be imbued with Socialistic principles to realize what a vast debt the wealthy people of any community owe to their less fortunate neighbours. Such a distribution of wealth as the Socialist orator dreams of is never likely to arrive, or at any rate there seems little chance of it to-day. But it is awful to reflect that while one woman will spend hundreds of pounds or thousands of dollars indifferently on dressmaker, milliner and bridge debts, only a few miles away there are homes which the direst poverty and vice have claimed for their own, and the gulf between the two is deemed in only too many cases to be impassable.
>
> Mrs. Lyttelton, who evidently knows her London, demands that those who are willing to help on the good work must personally visit the wretched homes they are seeking to befriend. They must not be content with sending their servants and carriage loads of provisions. They must get into personal touch with all the wretchedness nd the suffering which years of preaching, sensational novels and grim tragedies seem to have done comparatively little to abate.
>
> So, in spite of what Kipling has sung, East and West may yet meet.

" Beth " evidently does not remember a similar craze following the issue of a pamphlet over twenty years ago entitled " The Bitter Cry of Outcast London," and the cry is evidently just as bitter now as it was then in spite of the £10,000,000 distributed by various chari-

ties in London yearly, besides what is given casually. The Salvation Army has done a great deal of good but some harm, every new convert is a new customer, the rank and file no doubt do a great deal of self-sacrificing work, but General Booth and those immediately under him are doing a large and successful business, and what becomes of the profits? Their policy in Canada is very inconsistent. At Vancouver for instance, they solicit subscriptions for the unemployed, and obtain grants for bringing out immigrants.

The *Vancouver World* of December 26th says :—

> Col. Lamb preparing to ship 10,000 emigrants from England to Canada next spring Local offices of the Salvation Army on every corner with a tripod and a sort of camp-fire pot, collecting money to feed the poor, unemployed here on Christmas day. The Dominion Government pays a bonus on emigrants; the British Columbia government also financially assisted the Army in its traffic; and on top of this every person who comes to Canada under the auspices of the Army pays, or agrees to pay, his or her own fare. This Col. Lamb acknowledged at Halifax last September.

Mr. Jas. H. McVety in an article headed "Immigration and the Unemployed" in the same issue says :—

> Once more the Christmas season is upon us. Merry, for those able to purchase the luxuries common at this time, but for those who are unemployed and starving the compliments of the season are a mockery and only tend to intensify the misery of poverty and starvation.
>
> Each recurring Christmas brings forth the emblem of the Salvation Army, the small brass pot, hung from a tripod with the suggestive sign "Keep the pot boiling! Christmas dinner for the poor," etc. The Army officers admit there are unemployed and want, although the official representative in London, England, flatly contradicts the statement and maintains that there are no unemployed in British Columbia.
>
> The large number of unemployed in British Columbia and Canada brings to mind the efforts of the Salvation Army to flood this province with artisans in the guise of agricultural labourers and it would appear that the agent-general is either incorrectly informed, or willfully misrepresenting the facts, to preface the way for further importations.
>
> The statement made by Mr. Coombs, of the Army, in referring to the unemployed of Toronto, that they were of "the won't work variety" is not borne out by facts, the only reason they don't work is on account of their inability to find any one requiring their services.
>
> Those fairly well-informed will not blame the Army for all of the unemployed, but it can safely be said that they are responsible for making the situation considerably worse than it would otherwise have been, had the supply and demand been allowed to regulate itself.
>
> Mr. Coombs states that "all of those brought out by the Army have secured positions." This statement cannot be doubted, but the question seems pertinent, "Whose positions did they secure?" There certainly was not a sufficient number of new positions created to allow of all the Army immigrants securing one each, and as they are all employed, it must be that they took the positions of the natives by agreeing to work for less wages. Thus have the Army officers been able to transfer the misery of unemployment and starvation from their importations to the older residents who faced the earlier discomforts of a new country, and are now, thanks to the excellent

arrangements of the Provincial Government and the Salvation Army walking the streets, out of work.

The Army has received handsome bounties from the Provincial Government and from a number of societies in the Old Country for importations of human merchandise and they should be able to provide Christmas dinners for those out of employment by using some of the bounty money, instead of asking the citizens to provide for their protégés, or those thrown out of work through their immigration policy.

This policy has been seriously questioned by the Dominion Trades and Labour Congress, and in an effort to prevent the workers of Great Britain being misled regarding the actual conditions prevailing in Canada, a representative, Mr. W. R. Trotter, has been kept in the old land during the past year and has again been sent over for another period.

At the last convention of the Congress Mr. Trotter presented an exhaustive report on conditions in Great Britain and as the methods of the Army officers were seriously questioned, the officers of the Congress invited a number of Army representatives to be present and give the delegates their views on the matter.

Messrs. Lamb and Howell addressed the Congress on behalf of the Army and while they contended that their intentions were for the good of the workers, they admitted that mistakes might have been made and in the future they would consult the officers of the Congress before making any further shipments to Canada. Mr. Lamb further remarked that " He intended returning to spiritual work."

Despite the assurances of these gentlemen and other assurances given the writer by Mr. Coombs, the report comes from Great Britain that Mr. Lamb intends making a further shipment of 10,000 to British Columbia.

A strange inconsistency, collecting money to relieve poverty already existing and at the same time preparing to make matters worse by shipping another 10,000 people into the country. It may be that Mr. Coombs' statement about " the soup being thicker in Canada," furnishes sufficient justification for taking these people from their homes and relatives and dumping them in a strange land, alone and friendless.

If the Army proposes to maintain these people it seems a business proposition to keep them where the living is cheaper. If they intend bringing them and throwing them on the mercy of those already here, they should be forcibly prevented from doing so. In any case, the army should leave the trafficking in human beings to those without a cloak to shield them from the criticism they so properly deserve.

At this time the papers are full of notices from different parts of the Province, advising that there is no employment and if the Army officers are labouring under the hallucination that there is plenty of work in British Columbia they should send to those in a position to give correct information and not rely on the information given out by the agent-general of British Columbia or the Hon. R. G. Tatlow, Minister of Finance and Agriculture, who has always fathered any attempts to flood this Province with men.

The British Columbia Government does not propose to subsidize immigration in future. All institutions of a charitable or semi-charitable character, whether conducted by one or more individuals, should be compelled to compile balance sheets and have the accounts audited by a Government auditor or chartered accountant.

Newspapers.

Newspapers are also an obstacle. Most of us are more or less influenced in our political leanings by our favourite daily or weekly newspaper. We ought however, to remember that newspapers are not published for the benefit of the public, but for the profit of the proprietors, and that the majority pander to what they believe to be the taste of their readers, and by sensational headlines and exciting news, they try to increase the circulation, so that by the charge for and number of advertisements, the chief source of profit, may be maintained or increased. A war scare, and especially a war, are good for increase, and sporting news for maintaining sales. Also it is as well to remember that the editorial " we " in any case is only the opinion of one man, and may not be even his, but may be written to order to maintain the policy of the paper. In the early stages of the Boer war the *Daily Chronicle* was one of the few that refused to minister to the war fever and suffered financially in consequence. That some of the Canadian papers which are not subsidized speak freely can be seen by the quotations from "Mack's" " Front Page," and he evidently is not in fear either of the publisher or of the advertising manager of *Toronto Saturday Night*. On Sept. 19th last, previous to the Dominion elections he says :—

> Our affairs are discussed in the English press with a vast show of wisdom. According to the *Birmingham Post* there is much anxiety among Canadians in London regarding the result of the coming elections, because the new transcontinental railway may be imperilled. If there is any Canadian in London who really thinks that the result of the elections could affect a big national undertaking already under way, it is time for their relatives on this side of the pond to go over and bring them home.
>
> But that is not all. The *Post* sagely expresses its fear " that the Socialists, by splitting the vote, may cause the defeat of some Laurier candidates, though scattered unskilled labourers are difficult to organize." The Socialists are not a factor here at all. There are a few of them, but all the splitting they will do, will be to split into the rival party camps on election day.
>
> It must be confessed that the impressive editorials in the English press are much more convincing to Canadians when the subjects under discussion have nothing to do with Canada, but treat of affairs in Thibet or Uganda or Morocco.

The *Vancouver Province* of Jan. 26th in an editorial reply to a correspondent says :—

> Newspapers ought to strive, as far as it is possible, to be a factor in uplifting mankind, and we think that most newspapers of the present day sincerely desire to help forward the moral well-being of society. There is no newspaper which will not insist that that is one of its aims. But a daily newspaper cannot make that its sole aim. If it did, it would very soon cease to circulate except among a very contracted element of society. A daily newspaper is bound to reflect the events of the day and to reflect them with sufficient fidelity to satisfy the demands of the great reading public.

> Our correspondent suggests that we cut out the accounts of prize-fights and eliminate details in divorce cases, reports of murders and the like. There is not a daily newspaper on the American Continent which could afford to throw out of its columns the prize-ring contests. Nor do we see any reason for doing so. A prize fight is not a highly intellectual entertainment, it is true, but so long as such contests are regulated in a manner which prevents them falling to the level of brutalizing exhibitions we cannot see that they do any very great deal of harm. Boxing has been called by the English people the manly art, and a prize-ring contest nowadays is simply the manly art brought to its highest degree of scientific perfection. As far as divorces, murders and similar matters are concerned the daily press, we think, exercises a great deal of discretion in dealing with them. It suppresses, in fact, details which it would have the sanction of the law-courts in publishing and which if published would be financially remunerative to the newspaper in which they appeared. It suppresses these details in the interests of morality.

The various subjects I have dealt with more or less briefly I consider bear directly or indirectly on the Unemployed Problem, and if the Government will not inaugurate a practical scheme for its solution, then the Trade Unions should pool their funds in a National Emigration Association, Ltd., invite the public to take shares as well, and carry it out on a business basis. As an initial step, a deputation should be sent over to Ottawa to interview Sir Wilfrid Laurier (or a Premier of one of the other Colonies) to enlist his support. The solution of the problem would, of course, be a slower process than if a large loan were floated by the Government, but when the public began to see the benefits accruing, they might be induced to elect a non-party Government that would take over the project and develop it, on a much larger scale. I have suggested married couples with children under ten as a commencement, so as to simplify the work of the organisers on the one hand, and so as to benefit the largest number of young children on the other. Experience would need to be gained before it would be advisable to put single men on farms, or allow married couples to take older children. The *Western Clarion*, a socialist paper, after quoting on article on the Unemployed from the *Graphic* says :—

> The proposal of the *Graphic* to inaugurate a system of " compulsory training " is so much " tommy-rot." These men are in their present deplorable fix, not because they lack training in industry, but because they lack training in how to live without food, clothing and shelter, without those things which capitalist rule emphatically denies them.

In an article on " The Solution of the Unemployed Problem," J. H. McVety in the *Vancouver World* of January 9th, says :—

> President Taft, of the United States, was asked a question during the recent campaign regarding what was to be done with the unemployed, and he wisely answered, " God only knows," thereby sidestepping a problem confronting every nation of the world at this time. Some sacreligious person has added to Taft's answer, " But He won't tell," and thus the question is as far from solution as ever.
>
> Dr. Osler's idea of killing off those workers unemployed at the age

of 35 or 40 years of age has never been seriously entertained, it being deemed more in keeping with our civilization to allow the victim to starve to death, slowly or quickly, according to the exigencies of the case.

Further on in the same article he says :—

We are told of " stringency in the money markets," and numberless other reasons, but the real economic problem is carefully concealed, namely, where to dispose of the goods produced by the workers aided by the improved machinery of production.

The average worker produces five times as much wealth as he receives in the shape of wages, and is only able to buy back to the extent of his wages, consequently, the employer has four-fifths of the material produced to dispose of in some other market.

During past years this extra four-fifths was readily disposed of in Asia, but the Asiatics have now adopted all the latest machinery and are able to produce, not only for themselves, but also to ship their four-fifths back into America and Europe.

The " stringency in the money markets " argument is very weak as the following will show :—

The *Canadian Gazette* estimates that over £40,000,000 in British money has been invested in Canada in 1908 in public issues. The money was for Dominion Government, provincial and municipal issues, and also for corporation loans.

and this from the *Toronto News* :—

Mr. William Mackenzie says that it took him only two months to raise £2,000,000 in England. No doubt, as a Scotsman remarked on another occasion, he " didna' begrudge the time." Nor did he exhaust John Bull's treasury. As General Manager Hanna, of the Canadian Northern Railway, just back from London with Mr. Mackenzie, puts it, the British Isles are a wonderful source of supply for the world's financial needs. British trustee funds invested abroad amount to £2,800,000,000.

Mr. Mackenzie is called the Czar of the Canadian Northern Railway Co., and when asked what he would do if Czar of Canada, amongst other things said :—

We should give every man a chance to find a good home in Canada. He should have a chance to succeed. Every man has to make himself. It depends on himself where he lands.

Now does Mr. Mackenzie really believe he is such a heaven-sent genius that had he been born and brought up in the slums of Seven Dials, he would have been able to secure land grants sufficient to borrow two millions of money. We all know better, for accident of birth and opportunity are the chief factors in success, that some fail to grasp their opportunities may be, because by so doing they would lose their self-respect. The methods by which some British Railway and other magnates increase their banking account and thus obtain knighthoods and other Royal favours, if adopted on a small scale by the denizens of the Dials, would be the means of obtaining a pressing invitation to be His Majesty's guests at Worm wood Scrubs or other Royal Hostel.

Does Mr. Mackenzie think the enormous projected railway development is justified by the needs of Canada? If the Canadian Pacific and other railways studied the welfare of the population, is there not sufficient land, within easy distance of the present railways, for more than double the present population, and if doubled would not their dividends be increased instead of diminished? Have not some of the greatest geniuses and benefactors of the human race lived and died in poverty and some of the Czars been the greatest tyrants?

The *Vancouver World* of January 10th gives an account of the Labour Co-Partnership Association, but the fact that the Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour is associated with it, is almost enough to condemn it as a party move, as it is difficult to conceive that gentleman having any other interest in manufacturing or commercial pursuits. Profit-sharing between employers and employed is very good in theory, but very difficult to carry out in practice, for those who would be most benefited are those who need it least as it could not be well adapted to casual labour. This however, the abolition of workhouses and other sensible recommendations of the Royal Commission on Poor Law and Poor Relief are only anodynes and palliatives which will ameliorate the condition of the poor, but will not reduce their number. The only sensible way is to strike at the root of poverty which lies in the large and increasing number of permanent unemployed. If the Rev. Dr. Clifford has finished passive resisting and the Rev. R. J. Campbell would leave the study of theology for a time and they together would stump the country with the object of arousing the public to bring pressure to bear upon the Government to inaugurate a practical solution of the Unemployed Problem, (not what I have suggested if a better can be found), they will do more in twelve months to bring us nearer the millennium than preaching for twelve years, more or less to the same congregation, Sunday after Sunday. The cause of most of the suffering in this world is caused by "man's inhumanity to man."

CANADA.

Canada is a grand country with great possibilities, but is being and has been exploited by the men who have been elected by the community for the supposed purpose of guarding the interests of all. The predominant parties both in the Dominion and Provincial Governments evidently make their own interests and profit their first consideration ; their immediate friends and partisans next, and the general welfare the last and least, but paraded the most. I know nothing against Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and his personal reputation remains unblemished, but that he has to close his eyes and ears to many scandals what I have quoted from Canadian papers, when writing on Party Government is sufficient witness. The Canadian Governments are doing what the United States Governments did in the past, that is, allowing the natural resources to become private property and be thus exploited for individuals, and these of course chiefly capitalists, instead of being developed for the entire community

Suppose for instance, the United States had retained control of the oil wells, minerals, etc., supplying the crude oil to refiners and manufacturers and the revenue thus accruing had been partially devoted to the reduction of taxes and partly to further developments of this and other natural resources, thus making it almost impossible for such an octopus as the Standard Oil Co. or the Steel Trust to exist, would there be the numbers of unemployed in the United States that there are to-day ? Geologists and prospectors should accompany all survey parties into new districts and report to the Government sending them out, land should not be sold or given away, but leased on terms to the mutual advantage of the lessee and the Government, all public utilities such as railways, telegraphs, telephones, etc., should be in the hands of the Government. To say that the Government cannot do as well with these enterprises as private individuals or corporations is to admit that the right men have not been elected for such a responsible position, and this will probably be so as long as bribery and corruption in any form are used for party purposes so as to obtain and retain the reins of Government.

Recently I read in the *Vancouver World* that the Chinese Government had just made the last payment, thus releasing a railroad, which in future would be managed by the Government. In the same paper there was the announcement that the Canadian Government were considering the disposal of the Intercolonial Railway as it was being carried on at considerable loss. I made enquiries of a Canadian who came from Eastern Canada for the cause and elicited

that two-thirds of the passenger traffic was conducted on passes given for political services. The *Toronto Saturday Night*, January 23rd says :—

> The Minister of Railways has said in an interview that any change that is made in connection with the Intercolonial " will not include either the sale or the lease of the road," which is owned by the Government. It looks as if the Ministry had thrown out feelers concerning the I.C.R. in order to provoke discussion with the result that public opinion is found unready to favour the handing over of the line to Mackenzie and Mann. It is probable that the line will be handed over to a commission to be conducted as a business enterprise instead of a political nuisance.

That the inhabitants of the United States are beginning to realise what vast resources there are in Canada, this extract from *The Wall Street Journal* (New York) will show :—

> The Canadian West is fast becoming the granary of the world. Kansas grows but twelve bushels of wheat to the acre. Alberta has an average winter wheat production of 33 bushels to the acre this fall, and in the Canadian West there are 200,000,000 acres of virgin soil wheat lands. Alberta and British Columbia possess the greatest quantity of coal in the world, outside, perhaps, of Pennsylvania, and its adjoining states. British Columbia possesses lumber resources greater than all the States of the Union east of the Rocky Mountains. British Columbia is moreover now recognized as the orchard of the Empire. The Canadian West is now drawing 100,000 of the best farm population of the United States away to the virgin lands of the north. That country is being developed, and be it remembered that the climate of Alberta and Saskatchewan is the climate of Germany, and that Edmonton and Berlin have the same climate and latitude. The Mackenzie Valley will grow finer wheat and more of it than the Missouri Valley or the Arkansas, just as the valley of the Neva will grow it, and for like causes. However unpleasant these facts may be to the people of the States, it is folly to blind one's self to the fact that the Canadian West is destined to supply the beef and pork, and cheese and butter, and bread to the world. It has the soil, the climate, and the cheap transportation, and it will have the people.

The reference to the climate of Edmonton and Berlin suggests that the writer is interested in promoting emigration to Canada, as I doubt if they are the same and certainly not because they are in the same latitude. The spot where I am writing is about on the same latitude as London but during the first ten days of this year the temperature was below zero, varying from 10° to 36° below it, and at Edmonton it is sometimes 60° below zero, and I doubt if Berlin touches that. It may have the soil and the climate, but it still needs the cheap transportation. The Toronto correspondent of of the *Vancouver Province* says :—

PEACE RIVER IS GARDEN OF NORTH.

WEALTH IN FIELDS, STREAMS AND WOODS—WEST SHOULD PRODUCE SIX HUNDRED MILLION BUSHELS OF WHEAT.

TORONTO, Jan. 26.—Six hundred and thirty-eight pounds of potatoes raised as a first crop from three pounds of seed in a country which

a few years ago was thought to be given over to perpetual winter seems almost incredible. It is, however, only one of the many facts stated by Mr. F. S. Lawrence in his address before the Canadian Club pointing out the enormous possibilities of the Peace River and Athabasca districts. Mr. Lawrence, the son of a pioneer, has spent 37 years in the north country, and is now endeavouring to interest eastern capitalists in transportation questions.

Mr. Lawrence pointed out that in the sands of all the streams flowing east and northwards out of the Rocky Mountains, from the international boundary to the Arctic, gold was to be found, and he prophesied that northern British Columbia and the South Yukon would yet rival the Klondyke. From the Rockies to the Athabasca and Mackenzie rivers stretch the greatest coal deposits in the world; crude petroleum abounds, and in the Athabasca district there is a deposit of asphalt a thousand square miles in extent estimated to produce 6,400,000,000 tons. That huge deposit is only 180 miles north-east of Edmonton, and when the Hudson Bay railway is constructed asphalt will be shipped to the world's markets via Fort Churchill.

Mr. Lawrence possesses a great fund of native humour and uses it effectively. "Eleven years ago," he said, "the biggest natural gas well in the world was struck. Somebody put a light to it to see if the gas would burn. It's burning now. I'm not going into figures, but that shows there's plenty of gas there." Spruce two feet in diameter can be found on the shores of the Arctic.

Returning to the agricultural side, he stated that there were 65 million acres of land in the Peace and Athabasca River districts suitable for grain-growing, cucumbers, pumpkins, and all kinds of garden produce could be raised without difficulty, and at Fort Vermilion, 58½ degrees north, a modern flourmill was operating. Six hundred million bushels of wheat was an easy possibility in the future. "When Port Churchill is open we can ship wheat from the Peace River to Liverpool cheaper than it can be shipped from Manitoba to-day." Prince Rupert, when the G.T.P. was completed, would give another outlet, and with the completion of the Panama Canal a new trade route to Europe would be opened. The Provincial Government had recognized the importance of transportation facilities in opening up the country, and was prepared to guarantee the bonds of railways constructed through it. A thousand bushels to the acre of potatoes and 56 bushels of wheat were among the agricultural records of the Peace River, while wheat had been grown within fifteen miles of the Arctic circle. Mr. Lawrence pointed out that the Mackenzie and Peace Rivers were navigable for 1,500 miles, and drew attention to the value of the fisheries and the possibilities of stock-raising. Paying a tribute to the Royal North-West Mounted Police and the magistracy, he said that in no country was life and property safer. "The magistrates try to give justice, and no man escapes on a technicality," he commented.

With 6,500,000 ten-acre farms available in one District as stated above, it only needs the Capital to take all the permanent unemployed off the labour market, and place them in a position of independence.

It is surprising that with all the undoubted advantages there are in Canada, the Agent General, Railway and Steamship Companies should issue pamphlets that may mislead intending settlers. A lady friend once remarked that "half a truth is worse than a lie," and in the emigration literature issued in the British Isles there

are a number of half truths. According to Bulletin No. 10, issued by the British Columbia Government in 1906, the maximum temperature where I write is stated to be 96 and the minimum 10·7 below zero. In 1906 the highest shade temperature was 110, and on several days it reached 104°. This is the fourth winter I have been here, and I have shown that in January of this year the minimum was 36° below zero, and in January of 1907 the minimum was 37° below. It is scarcely reasonable to believe that the climate has suddenly changed, and to make these misstatements casts doubts upon some that may be true. The temperature at 110° is not nearly so oppressive here as at 90° in the humid atrmosphere of London, and I have walked in the open air for an hour at a time without wearing an overcoat when the thermometer showed 36° below zero. One of the half truths is that regarding the fruitfulness of some portions of the province, with the omission to state the excessive charges made by the Canadian Pacific Railway for transportation, but about this I shall have more to say when dealing with that Company.

The offer of 160 acres of land I consider "a sprat to catch a mackerel." Three men I became acquainted with on the steamer coming out, intended homesteading, but not one has done so, two having purchased land, while the other is in business at Vancouver. On the prairies there are miles of apparently unoccupied land within sight of the railroad, but it either belongs to the C.P.R. or there is some other difficulty in the way of the newcomer gaining possession of it as a homestead. Having induced the intending settler to sell up his home with the promise of 160 acres, and all the other advantages shown him, but none of the real troubles he will have to contend with, on reaching his destination he finds that if he wants to be near transportation facilities he must buy land. Whether he buys or homesteads, if he has only a small amount of capital, he will soon find himself in the clutches of the storekeeper or the loan companies. If having homesteaded, he wants to be sure of securing his land, the best plan is to only do sufficient work and stay on the land long enough each year to comply with the regulations. When on the land he should try to get work from neighbours who have been there longer and want help and can afford to pay for it. If work is not obtainable in the neighbourhood, try elsewhere six months in the year. Winnipeg Hospital has many cases of homesteaders brought in from the prairies with frozen feet, etc., some of which needed amputation. Other homesteaders become insane from the loneliness of the life they lead, while some are frozen to death. The following is from the *Montreal Star* of February, 1907 :—

> Estevan, Sask., February 21.—David Trapper arrived here with the information that a farmer named Radcliffe, with his wife and three children, were frozen to death. Radcliffe was a homesteader, who came here for coal about a fortnight ago. A neighbour named McAlpine called at Radcliffe's during his absence and found his wife and children frozen solid, and no fuel or food in the house. Further search also found Radcliffe and his team of oxen frozen to death on the ice in a neighbouring creek, with his sleigh loaded with coal and

provisions. Radcliffe arrived from England last May, and homesteaded in June. Sergeant Lett, of the Mounted Police, confirms the report by wire.

and this is from the *Vancouver World* this year :—

WATEROUS, Sask., January 13.—Wm. Evans, an English homesteader, aged 55, living two and a half miles north-west of here, left Waterous on Saturday forenoon for his house, and not being seen afterwards, his footsteps were traced, and the man found lying frozen on Sunday in the lee of a bluff, where he had crawled to die. His steps traced to his own door, where his key and mitts were found in the snow. He had then evidently tried to make his way to a neighbour's home, half a mile away, when he was overcome by the cold. The coroner was notified for an inquest, but there were no suspicions of foul play.

That smaller farms would be more profitable is shown by this extract from the *Toronto News* :—

As Mr. Creelman points out, Canadians have not yet really begun to farm their lands. They do not know what intensive farming is. In too many cases they rob the land and put nothing back. Consequently the fertility of the soil falls off. In Europe, fields that have grown crops for a thousand years are still fertile. But over there they do things thoroughly. The most successful agriculturist is the man who possesses a little land, and devotes his attention to keeping it up and making every foot do its very best work. The Grimbsy district in Ontario is an example of what intensive fruit farming will do for a community. There land sells at £200 an acre.

With such possibilities what excuse can any right-minded people have for allowing the Unemployed Problem to remain unsolved, and for continuing the present dreadful conditions, when both rich and poor would be benefited by the change.

The idea that there is no direct communication with Canada in winter is thus disposed of by the Editor of the *Vancouver World* :—

AN ICE-FREE PORT.

It is a peculiar thing that newspapers published in Great Britain did not begin to " jump on " Mr. Lloyd George, president of the Board of Trade, for his statement that exports direct to Canada were impossible during the winter season because all Canadian ocean ports are closed by ice, till Canadian papers had pointed proudly to Halifax. Since then, Canadian newspapers have been many-tongued in deploring the fact that deep ignorance of physical conditions in Canada appears to be general in Great Britain ; but it is not till now that it has occurred to anyone to rise to remark that in Vancouver, Canada has an ice-free port all the year round, to which exports from Great Britain are made without interruption from January to December. We do not comment on the ignorance of Western Canadian conditions, in which the East, in common with Great Britain, is enveloped. We do not. We simply ask the East, and Great Britain, to sit up and take notice.

There has been an outcry that Canadians do not like Englishmen, and that there is a prejudice against us is certain, and if we resent it, instead of living it down, it is not likely to be overcome. A Cana-

dian was surprised when I told him that it was a rare sight to see a man wearing knee-breeches in the streets of London, he thought it was the prevailing fashion. Men who probably never wore them in England, coming out here to homestead, no doubt think that the garb of a country squire is a necessary adjunct to their wardrobes. There are good and bad Canadians, just as there are good and bad Englishmen. Personally I have found the Canadians more genuinely friendly to myself and other new arrivals than my own countrymen. Through the courtesy of Dr. Wade, the Editor of the *Inland Sentinel*, who at some personal trouble, hunted up an old copy of that paper, I am able to give the following skit on one class of emigrants, and there are others besides those who through the various inducements held out by the Agent General and Railway Companies lose their money to find wisdom and bitter experience :—

HOW JOHNNY GOT WISDOM.

(With apologies to Longfellow).

Would you hear how London Johnny wandered from his father's wigwam,
From his counting house and wigwam where the old man sold Shu-Shu-Gah
For the wilds of Manitoba, for the land where snow is always ?
Listen to me and I'll tell you.

After many years of school life, fifteen solid years of school life,
And some more of promenading in the paths of Piccadilly,
Gentle, soothing Piccadilly, Johnny's father said unto him,
" How'd you like to work, my offspring ?" And the offspring gazed in horror
On his very stern old father, very stern old Roman father.
" How'd you like to be a farmer—I mean, of course, beyond the water ?"
Johnny answered, " That's the ticket. I will cross the raging water to the land of Manitoba,
" For I've heard of Manitoba, and I know it's over yonder.
" Yes, sir, I will be a farmer, go and be a giddy farmer,
" And when I have made a fortune,
" I'll come back and marry Gladys.
" Gladys Ethel Emmaline !"

So his friends all feasted Johnny, and they gave him many presents,
Many costly, useful presents,
Such as bandoliers and case knives, silver brushes and revolvers,
Telescopes and perfume bottles, sleeping bags and riding breeches,
Steamer chairs and leather leggings,
And they also gave him bathtubs, knowing well there are no bathtubs in the wilds of Manitoba.
But they did not give him water, saying, " There will likely be some
" In the land that Johnny goes to." And they said " Good-bye " with weeping.
And his father said, " God bless you, here are many sovereigns for you,
" They will last you till they're finished, do not hurry back, my offspring."

Johnny crossed the mighty ocean, and he much enjoyed the journey,
And he frequent saw the engines, saw the horrid, greasy engines.
But he liked most the dear ladies who would often gather round him,
And he'd tell them what he meant to do when he got safely over
To that wild and woolly country. How he'd ride all day on horseback
With his breeches, spurs and leggings, all day long he'd ride on horseback,
With his breeches, spurs and leggings, how the buffalo would suffer,
And the Indian hide in terror when they heard of Johnny's outfit.
And the ladies cried in chorus, " Oh, dear Johnny, do be careful—
" Don't be rash, you know we love you. Isn't he a perfect hero ?
" Just a dear, a perfect hero."

So at last to Manitoba came the hero of this saga.
He had seen beside Mount Royal many things that made him think some.
He had noted the St. Lawrence, quite as big's the Thames at London,
And he'd seen whole blocks of buildings, and between, the running street.

And the many, many people, and he said, " Well, well, God bless me,
" This is really quite a city." And the people looked at Johnny
And the rig that he was dressed in, with his white cord riding breeches,
And his beautiful green waistcoat, and his Norfolk shooting jacket,
And his nice brown leather leggings ; beautiful new leather leggings.
It was July, and he carried on his arm his heavy ulster,
And the people had looked on him, saying, " In Sam Hill, what is it ?"

So he came to Manitoba, all alone, mind you, he got there,
And his letters introduced him to a gent out in the country,
Who, of course, was from old England, and this gent had many farms,
One of which he sold to Johnny, quite a bargain to dear Johnny.
And the younger sons all round him were so glad to see dear Johnny,
That they kept him very busy setting up the drinks continuous.
And he went to all the races, so he wore out all his breeches.
And his dear friends, out of kindness borrowed generous Johnny's money,
And of course forget to pay him ; quite forgot that little item.
For the " deah boys " were from England, all from very excellent families,
First-class, No. 1, good families, so they quite forgot to pay him.
And he hired all kinds of labour, and he spent all kinds of money,
Buying implements, etcetera, some of them so ornamental,
And he rode around his acres, and he chaffed the poor homesteaders,
Who had very little " culchaw " and whose only play was working.
Canadians, he said, were rude men, eating in their " blooming shirt-sleeves."
Fancy eating in your shirt-sleeves.

Then along came Johnny's harvest, but he hadn't any harvest,
For he'd quite forgotten seeding. (Beastly, rotten fag, that seeding).
And poor Farmer Johnny busted. The kind gent. took back his acres,
Having got most of his dollars, and he prayed that generous heaven
Might send many more like Johnny. Better than a bumper harvest,
Is a juicy, sappy Johnny. And a farm sold quite often
On the same terms as to Johnny is away ahead of gold bricks.

Johnny now is working hired man, changed for overalls his breeches,
And from sun-up until sun-down Johnny's learning sense like blazes.
And he's laying past some " rhino," with a view to future farming.
And the next time Johnny starts in you will see a different Johnny,
He'll not marry Gladys Ethel, no, he'll marry Pocahontas,
And he'll raise a brood of 'Tobans, and he'll tell them, in the future,
How he crossed the mighty water, came into the new big country,
Learn'd sense as all men learn it, by the very simple process,
Of buying chunks of dear experience, added to as years go rolling,
And he'll say that out of England there are many other places.
And he'll teach the " Maple Leaf " to little Johnnies all around him.

BALKISSOCK.

Emigration.

The following is from the *Stroud Journal* :—

EMIGRANTS TO CANADA DISENCHANTED.

ADVISED TO STAY AT HOME.

The Distress Committee for Leeds having sent out to Canada, in May last, about 150 persons from the unemployed, they were naturally anxious to know how they had fared before assisting further numbers. Mr. Ernest Terry, a Leeds Guardian serving on their Committee, was appointed delegate to visit Canada, in order to see personally how the emigrants were placed, and afterwards to report to the Committee what he had seen and heard. He presented that report on September 6th, and its contents being of interest to other districts, we have taken the following extracts from the report in *The Yorkshire Post.*

" The pictures of prosperous-looking farms which are so freely exhibited in this country are not in the remotest degree like the free homestead actually is. The free land of New Ontario is covered with lumber, and the task of clearing it is tremendous. The free homesteads of the far western provinces are unbroken prairie, the nearest being many miles from the railway track. It is difficult for a man without £300 to £400 to succeed on a homestead. It can be done, and is done, but the difficulties are very great." " The glowing accounts of various immigration agents, Government and private, must be largely discounted. The conditions are much harder than in England. Any man who is not both able and willing to work very hard indeed, and to work continually, is quickly turned off. Everything is done on the American system of ' hustle ' and loafing, or even slowness is not tolerated. The cost of living is very much higher than in England, and the standard very much lower. The great difficulty is the housing problem. Throughout the whole of Canada it is almost impossible to get shelter. The people live in wooden frame houses, and usually share in these. A family is lucky to get two small rooms in a wooden frame house for two dollars (8s. 4d.) per week, and there are no domestic fittings as understood in this country. Some people have to crowd into one small room and pay two dollars per week for that. These houses are comfortless and primitive, and yet at the high rents charged it is almost impossible to get a portion of one. On the farms the conditions are very hard. In the summer months sixteen and seventeen hours a day are worked, and if no arrangement

is made, the labourer has to go back to the city in winter. I personally came across two cases, where it was alleged that when payment was due, the farmer repudiated the arrangement and offered much less. The labourer being many miles away from friends, and being without funds, is compelled to take what is offered and has no redress."

"Particulars in regard to eight families sent out by the Leeds Distress Committee were given. The head of each family, with one exception, was doing well, and was receiving more wages than at home, though all of them were dissatisfied with the social conditions."

"The report was formally accepted, but the discussion adjourned for a month. Mr. Hardwick remarked that the report was not very encouraging to emigration. Canada wanted people who would work hard; that class of people could, as a rule, get on here."

It is well that the foregoing investigation was made, as there are two sides to most affairs, and the worst side is generally concealed. It is not all gold that glitters in Canada, where the winters are long and severe, and the labourer who has to play half the year cannot find a large balance left from his summer earnings. The outcome of this investigation has already caused the Distress Committee to look at home, and gardening is now to be tried, under the tuition and supervision of experienced gardeners. This practical move is a reproductive one, as well as instructive, and if extended to other industries, the key to the solution of the unemployed problem is already found. There are many good craftsmen amongst the unemployed, for whom work at their respective trades might be found. When it is a case of finding bread, all objections should be over-ruled. The willing worker should not be pauperised, but helped to maintain his self-respect.

The following are extracts from the plan :—

Those wishing to settle in Canada are lead to believe that they can homestead successfully with a capital of £100, but the majority are doomed to disappointment. The bright side of the picture is given in the Government pamphlets, I know of many that are the reverse of successful and none that have succeeded without having endured very great hardships. What I contend is that every disappointed settler is a deterrent and every satisfied one is an incentive to colonisation. . . . My proposal is in reference to that class who having paid their passage arrive at their final destination with £100 or more of available capital. The most of this I would attract into the coffers of the C.P.R. Company instead of being frittered away as it now generally is in trying to find a homestead and having found it, trying to get it fit for cultivation. I am prepared to argue and believe convince any prospective settler that to purchase 40 acres of C.P.R. Company's land on the conditions I suggest later is more to his advantage and believe I can convince him such is the case than to obtain 160 acres from the Government free. I also contend that the homesteader has now to go such a distance from a railway depot that he is not a good asset for the C.P.R. The chief points of my plan are assisted passages, first "breaking" already done, house prepared for occupying, payments say one-third down, balance over six to ten years. I will now deal with these and some other points as briefly as possible, being assured that if the main principle appeals to you that you will give me an opportunity of going more fully into these and some other matters which I do not now mention. Assisted passages, to purchaser of C.P.R. land reduce the fares. . . . "Breaking," the most up to date and effective means (steam breaking-plough presumably) of breaking up the land should be obtained and the usual charge for breaking put

upon the land. Frame houses to be built to suit purchasers with two rooms or more according to requirements. During the first year these could be obtained from the manufacturers and afterwards made as below. Ultimately the Company should make and build their own houses and establish logging camps in their own wooded districts thus clearing land ready for future use. Erect lumber mills near the camps in such a manner that when timber is exhausted, they can easily be removed to new camps. Equip them so as to turn out the frame houses complete. Issue pamphlets with plan of District being settled up, and half tone blocks of style of houses and plan of rooms. The district between Moosejaw and North Portal seems suitable to commence with, say Weyburn the postal town. Break up the land for 50 to 100 settlers. Settlers should be offered facilities for visiting England, each satisfied settler would be a good advertisement and likely to induce others to come. Organise a lecturing tour with biograph and lantern views during winter of 1907–1908. Philanthropic societies and others interested in the unemployed question might be approached with the view of suitable families being aided.

It will thus be seen that even at that time, the unemployed were in my mind but at that time it did not take the form of a National Emigration scheme, but was rather as a means of putting money into the pockets of a Company from whom I was seeking employment. The Moosejaw District for some reason that I do not know is now being settled up very quickly, this is from the *Inland Sentinel*, January 1st, this year :—

" Yesterday a record was established in Moosejaw land office which never before has been approached and which without doubt will remain unbroken in ages to come," says the Moosejaw *Times* of last Wednesday. " The previous record for one day was created at Moosejaw on September 17 of this year when 337 entries were made. This figure was more than doubled yesterday when the immense total of 724 was run up."

According to figures supplied by Mr. Leech the total number of entries in the dominion during the eleven months of the present year are as follow : Battleford 4,009, Brandon 132, Calgary 3,804, Dauphin 1,524. Edmonton 5,017, Estevan 1,728, Humbolt 2,558, Kamloops 381, Lethbridge 5,091, Moosejaw 12,959, New Westminster 35, Prince Albert 2,012, Red Deer 2,063, Regina 2,054, Winnipeg 1,664, Yorkton 2,114 ; total 46,945.

From the foregoing figures it will be seen that for the eleven months from January to November, Moosejaw has had more than one-fourth of the total number of entries in the whole dominion, and for the last three months the percentage taken up in Moosejaw has been even greater, and totals almost one-third of the whole.

That such activity should be shown by those homesteading at a time of the year when few are immigrating, would suggest that either the land is being taken up by Canadians or that there is some favouritism. This however is digressing, as not having received a reply from the C. P. R. Co. to one of my communications of Oct. 25th, I wrote again on Nov. 16th, and in that letter occurred this passage, " The plan could be adapted for developing your Calgary Irrigation works. This is the same district described later as the " Bow River irrigation district of Alberta." About

Dec. 15th I received two letters from Mr. McNicoll, my letters having been sent on to some one of the same name at Revelstoke. One was dated November 5th, and was in reply to mine.

> I have your letter of the 25th Oct., but there is really nothing new in the documents enclosed. We have given consideration to several of such ideas in the past. Assisted passages were given up many years ago and individuals and companies have also undertaken the breaking of land and erecting of houses, but it did not turn out a success. All lands are sold on the instalment plan. Our advertising is fully looked after in Europe by our representatives there who are best able to attend to it, etc.

To this I replied on December 17th, 1906 :—

> I am sorry that it is your opinion that there is nothing new in my proposition, all that you say about assisted passages, etc., I was aware of or had considered, the strength of my suggestions is that under one payment and backed by one, and that a reliable authority, a settler could be placed in a comfortable position on arriving. Pioneers are few and the majority do not like roughing it. My plan would give you four times the population that homesteading does and the people close to the railway which must be an advantage to it. I had no designs upon your advertising department, what I suggest would be an addition and help and not an interference with your present arrangements. Regretting that you cannot see it in the light it appeals to me, etc.

This closed the 1906 correspondence and in the *Vancouver World* of December 11th, 1908, appeared the following :—

NEW PLAN OF COLONISATION.

C.P.R. TAKING STEPS TO OPEN UP LARGE TERRITORY IN ALBERTA FROM WHICH SETTLERS AND COMPANY WILL DERIVE LARGE PROFITS—COMPANY PROVIDES INITIAL OUTLAY.

A striking innovation in colonization methods will probably be introduced in the near future by the Canadian Pacific Railway in connection with the planting of farmers in the Bow River irrigation district of Alberta. It is proposed that the Company should offer the land to new settlers under a contract which makes the land pay for itself—no crop, no payment.

The feature of the idea is the confidence of the Company has in the ability of the land to pay for itself. The crops of the last few years have been getting enough out of the land every year to pay the full purchase price. The railway officials also look at the traffic possibilities which the scheme opens up. If the proposition appeals to the farming community, there ought to be an inrush of settlers which would plant ten farms where one is being located to-day. This, of course, would mean ten times the traffic for the road in that section. In this way it is expected the " crop payment " plan will be instrumental in opening up the new irrigation district in a fraction of the time that would otherwise be necessary.

As for the nature of the " crop payment " system, Sir Thomas Shaughnessy has defined it as " a system of payment frequently utilized in agricultural districts of that kind, by which the annual

instalments of the purchase price are governed by the crop results, until the whole amount has been paid."

But in its efforts to promote a rapid settlement of the region, the company is reported to be contemplating still another new step. Many purchasers are unable to move on to their farms immediately, and prefer to have the preliminary work of development done by contract, so that they can move on to a farm with a revenue already coming in. The Company will, therefore, be prepared, it is stated, to initiate farming operations on a contract basis, only a small percentage being charged to cover the actual outlay in supervising the expenditure of money deposited for the purpose. The work will be entrusted only to responsible parties, and as the railway is in a position to let large contracts for such operations, a high class of work should be obtained at the lowest possible figure.

Realizing that the average settler coming into the region has not the best knowledge of the details of farming in such a district, the company now maintains and operates, at central points, farms devoted to demonstrating the agricultural possibilities of the district.

The area embraced within this vast undertaking has an average length east and west of about 150 miles and an average width north and south of 40 miles, and it is expected that this block of irrigated and non-irrigated land will be divided into some 15,000 farms, sustaining six individuals each, including hired help. This would make a rural population of 90,000. The ratio of rural to urban population according to the last census, was as three to two. This would make a town and village settlement of 60,000 or a total population in the block of 150,000 souls.

Under the title " Freights and Fairy Tales " the *Vancouver World* of December 17th, printed a letter written previous to the Dominion Elections by Captain Andrew Hamilton of Agassiz to a London publication. After describing a political meeting of which he was chairman he proceeds as follows :—

> And then, just before the meeting closed in good temper, I asked if our member couldn't do something to help turn the Fraser Valley into a suburban district for Vancouver, by making those profitable and cheap fares for passengers and freights for milk, butter, fruit, meat and vegetables in our suburban district that you and I and, thank God, millions besides, know to be beneficial in supplying the daily wants of London. I pointed out—a chairman has the pull now and then of airing his opinions—that a fare of a dollar (4/2) for the seventy miles and a freight of 20lbs. for 12 cents (sixpence) from door to door—as on the Great Eastern—would enrich the railways enormously because the rural population would increase in that rich dairy valley that lies between the Cascade mountains and the sea, and trade every kind would grow. Ten-acre lots—brickmaking, mills for every kind of industry would spring up, and the babies of Vancouver and (the then) neighbouring cities would get lots of milk, and butter would not be 1s. 8d. a pound, for the grass and clover grow by magic and everything is ready to hand, except the freight of farm produce and the travelling expenses of the working man or market woman.

Agassiz is 70 miles from Vancouver on the C.P.R. The lowest single fare is 11/10½, return, 19/9½, a 20lb parcel costs 2/11 for carriage, a tea kettle from Vancouver weighing 2½lbs. costs 1/8

for carriage, this being the lowest charge on all parcels weighing 10lbs or under, car loads are correspondingly dear. The charges all over the line are on the same basis. Is it to be wondered at, therefore, that the people are encouraging other railways to enter into competition? These drawbacks settlers do not find set forth in the glowing prospects held out to them by the Agent General.

If there were a few more fearless and outspoken editors both in Great Britain and Canada like John Houston of the *Prince Rupert Empire*, there would be less corruption amongst politicians and large corporations. I understand that he is a Conservative. Would that English Conservatives were like him. Referring to steps being taken to establish a Board of Trade, he goes on to say :—

> A Board of Trade if made up of men who mean business will be an advantage to Prince Rupert; but if made up of men who will do as members of Boards of Trade do in other cities, then Prince Rupert had better get along without such an organization. There is a Board of Trade in Victoria. It is an auxiliary of the C.P.R. Its members are always found fighting the battles of the C.P.R. and of the political party that is backed by that corporation. In the last election its prominent members were shouting from platforms for a "White Canada!" Yet, less than two years ago they were going on record as favouring the free admission of Chinese because of the scarcity of labour, and their action was telegraphed over Canada as the expression of the business men of Victoria. If Prince Rupert business men organize a Board of Trade, let them go on record on the question of employment of Asiatics. Let them say that no person giving employment to Asiatics shall be eligible to become a member of the Prince Rupert Board of Trade. Let there be no streaks of yellow in the organization. Let men who employ Asiatics flock by themselves, then their organizations will not be misleading. Men who employ Asiatics cannot be depended on to make a "White Canada!" Prince Rupert business men should have the distinction of helping to make a "White British Columbia!" Will its business men do it, or will they funk?

This from the *Toronto Globe* :—

INCREASE OF C.P.R. CAPITAL STOCK.

> Possibly at the first session of the new Parliament, application will be made upon behalf of the Canadian Pacific Railway for permission to increase its capital by the issue of fifty millions of new common stock, presumably at par. A great many communications bearing upon the subject have reached the *Globe* and these reveal a rather interesting change of sentiment. Formerly, issues of new C.P.R. stock to old shareholders at par were received with complacency on this side, while exciting the liveliest criticism in Great Britain. Not, however, since the *Glasgow Herald* a couple of months ago remarked that it was "hopeless to expect a sounder financial policy than this form of watering capital," has the British press had much to say in condemnation of the C.P.R. policy. Most of the opposition will come from this side. The fact that of late years C.P.R. has been passing into the hands of British and continental capitalists, and that it is no longer the principal holding, as it once was, of the small Canadian investor, may explain this change of heart. At any rate, Parliamen is likely to hear a good deal about C.P.R. rights before it grants th

necessary authorisation. The C.P.R. has a good deal on its side. The bonuses which have from time to time been paid to shareholders in the form of low-priced stock have been nothing more than a division of surplus earnings which takes place in some form or other in every large corporation. Surely if it were not for the expectation of an increased return in the form of rights it would not have been possible to have maintained C.P.R. in its position as the most stable railway security on the New York stock exchange during the panic days. Without its stock bonuses, C.P.R. even with its splendid assets, could scarcely sell at to-day's price on a dividend which, compared with that of most of the large American railroads, is very meagre.

One typical view of the matter, taken from a number received from the west, may be quoted, the writer, who addresses the financial editor of the *Globe*, being a well-known resident of British Columbia :

" I am surprised that the matter has not received greater attention at the hands of the Canadian press. Here we have it coolly assumed that such an enormous amount is to be distributed at par to a favoured few when the stock of the company is selling at 177½, a clear gain of £7,750,000, equivalent to a bonus of over 25%. No wonder that Sir William Van Horne predicted that C.P.R. would soon be selling at 200. For this there is a remedy, and it is in the hands of the people. Before the company can put this large amount on the market it has to go to Parliament for its sanction. Some years ago the directors had to ask for power to issue a large amount, and although the stock was selling over par it was thought by some members of the House of Commons that it would be offered to the shareholders for less than par. A clause was therefore inserted that it must not be sold for less than par. Even then they divided over £1,600,000 among the shareholders.

" As Lawson often said, but never made good, now for the remedy. If Parliament has the power to set the price, I assume that it can also say to whom it is to be sold. Let the Minister of Finance at the right time come out boldly and say that the Government, representing the people of Canada, must be given the first opportunity to purchase the whole amount. A Premier of Britain gained the acclaims of the world when he purchased a controlling interest in the Suez canal. The Premier of Canada has it in his power to recoup the people of Canada for the 25,000,000 acres of land alienated to the company, and he should not hesitate to act. The possession of so much stock would give the government at once a voice in the affairs of the Company. It would be the beginning of making it a national road, the property of the people. It would give the people 25% of the stock of the company at par.

" It may be said," continues the writer, " that it would be too great an undertaking to finance it. Is it not as good a property in the hands of the Government as in that of private individuals ? Would not the public institutions of Canada and the United States be glad to invest their trust money with a government that can offer securities that are selling at a price that C.P.R. stock is selling to-day ? Would not a private individual be able to borrow within 10% of its selling price ? Surely, then, our Government should not find it difficult to borrow to the extent of 60% of the selling price."

And this from the *Manitoba Free Press* :—

ANOTHER SPECIOUS DEFENCE OF MELON-CUTTING.

" A Banker "—which is the latest alias for the C.P.R.'s talented press agent—continues to defend in the *Weekly Sun*, of Toronto, the

issue, at par to present stockholders, of the fifty millions of new C.P.R. stock. His latest ingenious argument is that it is a blissful anticipation of melon-cutting that has kept the C.P.R. stock at its present high figure; and that to prevent the expected reward now would be a gross injustice to its holders. "What," says the highly solicitous 'Banker,' "has sent the stock up to 178? Enquiry would disclose that the investor at home and abroad is prepared to give that figure for it, because, in addition to paying its ordinary dividends, the Company from time to time 'cuts up a melon,' as the saying is, among the stockholders by allotting them these new issues at par, usually in the proportion of one share of new to every five shares of old stock. This is tantamount to declaring a special dividend of considerable cash value. But if you were to abandon this policy and place the new stock on the market at let us suppose, 178, the mere knowledge that the era of melons was past and gone would bring the old stock down with a run and inevitably leave you with the new issue on your hands."

This terrifying prospect leaves the *Sun* unmoved. It says:

"But even if "A Banker" is correct in his assumption that the present selling price of Canadian Pacific stock is maintained only by occasional bonus distributions, such as that recently authorized, the authorization would nevertheless represent a policy that is wholly vicious. It is calculated to hide the full amount of the returns which the rates charged for passenger and freight traffic by the Canadian Pacific are yielding to shareholders. The full returns obtained by these shareholders should be represented in the annual statement of dividends paid. There should be no attempt to hide, as in the present case, an extra dividend of fifteen per cent. in the form of a distribution of stock at seventy-five cents on the dollar below its actual value."

The naïve confession of "A Banker" is a revelation of railway financing. Why shouldn't the selling value of railway stock be determined by the actual earnings of the road? Why should the expectation of a rake-off in the future be employed to give undue value to the stock? "A Banker's" special pleading, so far from convincing one of the propriety of the C.P.R.'s course, has precisely the opposite effect.

In conclusion I give the following account of the inception of the C.P.R. from the *Vancouver World* by F. C. Wade, Esq., K.C., a local liberal and a gentleman interested in the reclamation of juvenile criminals. If the original idea had been carried out and the successive Dominion Governments had engaged good and thorough working managers, what a different Canada it might have been to-day, however, "it's never too late to mend":—

THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

As the Intercolonial Railway was a necessary feature of Confederation in the east, so the Canadian Pacific Railway was generally seen to be a necessity for the west. It was, in fact, a corollary of Confederation. On British Columbia's refusal to be admitted into the union, the project took definite shape. The only differences that have ever existed between the Liberals and Conservatives do not concern the building of the road itself, but the method adopted to that end. As Mr. Thomas White, M.P. for Cardwell, said during the Pacific Railway debate of 1880, "It is well known to those gentlemen who have any

knowledge of the circumstances in connection with the construction of the C.P.R. that it was originally by no means a party question, that both parties were in favour of its construction ; and honourable members opposite who are in the habit of judging what has taken place will remember that the strongest language was used by the leading organ of those gentlemen opposite in depreciation of those who forgot that the construction of the railroad from ocean to ocean was a duty, to neglect which would inflict upon us the liability of being accused of want of patriotism, and as being hostile to British connection." Under the Carnarvon terms the road was not to be fully completed to the British Columbia sea-board until December, 1890. On the 26th April, 1872, Sir George Cartier introduced in the House of Commons the Pacific Railway Bill empowering the Government to contract with either or both of the companies desiring to build the railway, and authorizing a subsidy of £6,000,000 cash and 50,000,000 acres of land. On Feb. 8th, 1873, the charter was given to Sir Hugh Allan's company. On April 2nd following, Mr. Lucius Seth Huntington, Q.C., charged in the House of Commons that Mr. Macdonald had practically sold the charter for money to use in the elections. The letters and telegrams showing the receipt by the Conservative leaders of large sums from Sir Hugh Allan during the elections of 1872 were published on July 4, and on November 5, 1873, the Macdonald Government resigned without taking a vote on Mr. McKenzie's amendment to the address censuring the Government in connection with the Sir Hugh Allan deal. The Liberal Government under the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie at once authorised an expenditure of £8,000,000 on the Canadian Pacific Railway and canal system, and passed an act making the construction of the great transcontinental railway a public work. In a speech in the House of Commons, on March 18, 1902, Sir Richard Cartwright in referring to Mr. Mackenzie's railway policy, said it had three grand features :

1. To reserve the land for settlers ; to sell it to settlers only at low rates, and to give money only to promote the building of colonization railways :

2. To construct a number of short line colonization railways radiating from Winnipeg.

3. To use all the power of the Government to keep the people together and form a solid state in and about the present province of Manitoba, from which afterwards as a base, railways might radiate on every side.

If this policy had been continued, he argued, we should have had 500,000 families or 2,000,000 people settled in Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan, and a volume of trade not far from £200,000,000. If this would have been the result when Sir Richard spoke in March, 1902, what would it have been to-day ? But Mr. Mackenzie's Government was defeated in the fall of 1878, and Sir John Macdonald again took the reins of power. Like Mr. Mackenzie, Sir John favoured the construction of the road by the Government, rather than by a private company, but in June, 1881, it was resolved to return to the policy of handing the work over to private contractors. The history of the undertaking from that time on is well known.

The great merit claimed by the Conservatives was that it had been completed six years before the time required by the terms. Perhaps after all, this merit is not so great as it would at first sight seem. Construction was hurried forward so rapidly that settlement could not keep up with it. Thousands of American contractors and labourers rushed into this country to build the road, and on its completion

rushed out again as rapidly, taking their earnings with them. A disastrous boom was created, but the Government promises of permanent settlement utterly failed. When the frantic work of construction was over the country was left almost as empty of settlement as it was before it began, and the millions of dollars which might have remained in the pockets of good Canadian settlers, if settlement had gone hand in hand with construction. How much better would it have been for the country if the Government had hastened slowly, if a comprehensive system of immigration had accompanied the building of the railway by which labourers would be assured work until they could accumulate a small capital, and homesteads afterwards, by which settlement would have become consolidated along the line of march, and branch lines would have spread over the face of the country as required, by which we would have retained thousands of settlers and millions of money, and had just as great a railway with far more prosperity, with the only difference that it would not have reached the seaboard quite so soon. No doubt it was an inspiring sight to Canadians to behold a great transcontinental railway extending from ocean to ocean over the face of his country, but the pleasure would have been none the less for a few years' delay if then he could have contemplated a well-settled country, filled with prosperous people instead of a sparsely settled country so much less able to shoulder our great added load of debt. Perhaps history will say that the policy which created the booms and the land deals, gave such play to speculation and favouritism, and covered the whole country with a cloud of depression, which has only recently risen, was one of the greatest blows from which Canada has ever suffered, and that it was a misfortune to the Dominion that the policy of Sir John's administrators displaced the less attractive but more prudent policy of his opponents.

The Liberal administration of the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie lasted from the beginning of 1874 to the fall of 1878. One of his first acts, as has been pointed out, was the assumption of the building of the C.P.R. as a public work, and the granting of the necessary subsidy.

The last spike on the Canadian Pacific Railway was driven in the Eagle Pass on November 7, 1885.

The fight against railway monopoly, which was always supported and justified by the Conservative party, finally ended in victory for the Liberals. The crisis was reached on October 24, 1888, in connection with the attempt of the Red River Valley Railway to cross the track of the Canadian Pacific Railway. On December 22, 1888, the Supreme Court of Manitoba rendered a decision in favour of the province, and ultimately the efforts of the Conservative party to force and keep Manitoba and the whole west to the Rocky Mountains under the C.P.R. monopoly ban were entirely defeated by the Liberal party, but not until a final financial arrangement was made between the Dominion and the company, by which the Dominion guaranteed the interest for fifty years on an issue of £3,000,000 of 3½ per cent. bonds, secured upon the 15,000,000 acres of unsold land belonging to the company.

CANADA *and the* UNEMPLOYED PROBLEM

Some Suggestions for its Solution by A. T. Hope

THE international problem of unemployment is acute. It is not being solved. For the sake of the unemployed men and their wives and children; for the sake of the workers still employed, whose position is jeopardized by the competition of men driven to desperation by hunger to the point where they are compelled to sell their labor-power, and drag down the level of wages; for the sake of civilized society, whose very foundations are threatened by the physical deterioration and the mental and moral degradation caused by dire poverty—it is of the utmost importance that measures be taken to solve it without delay.—*Vancouver World*, February 27th, 1909.

1909

LONDON:
SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT & CO., LTD.

SIXPENCE